National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. WITHOUT CONCEALMENT...WITHOUT COMPROMISE. EDMUND QUINCY, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. XIII. NO. 12. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1852. WHOLE NO. 636.

Published weekly, on Thursday, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their office, No. 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW-YORK. Terms, Two Dollars per annum. Printed for the American Anti-Slavery Society, by NORRIS & JOHNSTON, printers, No. 21 Spruce street.

Selections.

STATEMENT

IN REGARD TO THE

COLOURED POPULATION OF CANADA.

[FOR CIRCULATION ABROAD.]

In consequence of many erroneous statements being circulated in Great Britain and the United States, in regard to the circumstances and social position of the coloured population residing in Canada, the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society of the Province conceive it their duty to present to the friends of the African race, on both sides of the Atlantic, a brief statement of facts which they hope will aid them in forming correct views on the subject. Canada, from its proximity to the United States, has at all times been an asylum to such slaves as were able to escape from bondage. The coloured population has been, from year to year, increasing from that cause, and also from the occasional emigration of free coloured persons, to escape from the degradation and insults to which they are exposed, even in the free States of the Union. The increase of coloured settlers had been so considerable, that at the time of the passage of the atrocious Fugitive Slave Law, about two years ago, it is believed that above 20,000 coloured people resided in Canada.

A fresh impulse to the tide of emigration was then given. From 4,000 to 5,000 crossed the lines in a few months, and found, on British ground, that liberty which was denied to them in the country of their birth. Many of these refugees had lived for years unmolested in the Northern States, protected by the difficulty which some of these States threw in the way of the slaveholders in recovering their human property. That difficulty, however, was at length removed by the Fugitive Slave Law, and no alternative remained for these oppressed people but to take refuge under the British flag. Many of them arrived in Canada in a state of destitution, which was the more severely felt when they came in the fall of the year, without provision for the inclemency of the winter months, to which few of them had been accustomed. A considerable amount of suffering has been the consequence, but this is shared in common with all emigrants who arrive in a foreign country, without adequate means for temporary support. Interested parties have not been slow in exaggerating these privations, and in representing the Canadas as unfit for the residence of a coloured population. Slaveholders, and their agents, expect by this means to deter their human chattels from seeking their freedom. And not only is Canada considered an unfit place for the residence of the refugees, but the people of Canada have been represented as hostile to them, and our Province has recently been described in England, even by a professed friend of the Slave, as a 'City of cribs and pens, harsh exemptions, and cruel exclusions.' This is a deliberate falsehood, and an atrocious libel on the people and institutions of Canada. Every coloured man, as is well known, the moment he sets his foot on the Canadian soil, is forever free, and not only free, but he is on a level, in regard to every political and social privilege, with the white man. He can vote for members of parliament and for magistrates, and in every other popular election. The coloured people have generally their own churches, and their own ministers; and if they prefer joining congregations not of their own race, there is no negro pew in the church, or particular place at the communion table, to stamp degradation on them, as in the neighbouring republic. They are not ejected from public coaches or confined to corners of steamboats, as in that country; and with regard to their ultimate comfort in this Province, there can be no doubt, when they are blest with health, and the will to work. Attempts have been made by some ignorant and prejudiced persons to interfere with that perfect equality, which is readily conceded, both by law and practice; but these have met with no encouragement, and have been promptly frowned down by the public voice. Canada is too young to be possessed of great wealth, but few countries have a smaller number of poor, in the proper sense. Employment at good wages is easily procured, provisions are cheap, and the coloured emigrant, like all others, after the first difficulties are surmounted, is certain of receiving daily bread, and in due time many of the comforts and even luxuries of life. Some of them, who have been here for several years, have acquired considerable property. The children of all attend school along with the whites, unless they wish to separate themselves, which the law at the present time allows them to do. But they rarely exercise this right, and it may be doubted whether it ought to exist, as education will be best promoted by the absence of all such sectional distinctions, even when they are intended, as in this case, to protect and not to injure. The coloured people in Canada have no permanent grievance of any kind, and there is nothing to prevent them filling the highest offices in the Colony. The privations which they suffer on their first arrival from bondage are certainly not owing either to the laws of the Province or to the wishes of the inhabitants. These must be traced to the reckless slavehunters, who have driven them from their own country, without an hour's notice to prepare for their change.

The only question that remains is, whether the benevolence of the people of Canada has been sufficiently extended to these sufferers, who have been cast on their humanity. It might safely be predicted that among two millions of British subjects, few of whom have ever lived under the hardening influence of Slavery, many would be found on the side of justice and humanity. Scattered over the Province, are some who have been the warmest and most active promoters of the abolition of West India Slavery, when they resided in Great Britain. Their voice has been heard through a portion of the Canadian press, while the questions of Texas, California and Mexico have been discussed in the United States, and their protest in the name of our common humanity against the extension of the area of Slavery over those parts of the continent. From this class, assistance, advice and encouragement have been long given to the refugees from bondage, and to other coloured settlers in Canada. Various settlements of coloured people have been formed in the Upper Province. Among the earliest of these is the Dawn institution, on the banks of the River Sydenham, in one of the Western Districts, and of which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society now propose to take the charge. The benevolent friends of Anti-Slavery in the United States have contributed liberally to the support of this and several minor settlements. About three years ago, the Elgin settlement, an institution purely Canadian, was founded. It contains 9,000 acres of land, bought by a company of friends of the coloured people chiefly residing in Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston, Montreal and Quebec. This Institution promises well. An active, industrious population is growing up, chiefly under the auspices of the Rev. Mr. King, who has devoted himself to the moral and religious improvement of the people, and of the rising generation.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1850, convinced the friends of the oppressed African race that some more combined general effort was required for their assistance. An Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Toronto, in February, 1851, for the purpose of giving relief to destitute Refugees, and for spreading abroad information in regard to the Anti-Slavery cause. The money raised during the first year by the Anti-Slavery and Ladies' Society amounted to above $1,100. This sum may appear small, but it must be recollected that while Canada abounds in the means of human sustenance, it labours under the difficulty of all new countries, a constant scarcity of the circulating medium. But the sum collected by this Society, which was chiefly derived from the zealous friends of the cause in Toronto, is not all that has been done. Many members of the Society and others have privately given much relief to the fugitives in money, clothing and bedding, and this has also been the case in other parts of the Province. It has become necessary, however painful, to mention these things in order to meet the aspersions which have been cast on the people of Canada. The Society have, besides, acted as almoners for the indefatigable friends of the cause in the United States, who have through them sent important relief to the sufferers, in liberal supplies of clothing and other necessaries. One great object of the Society is to prevent the emigrants from falling into the situation of paupers, by providing them with employment as speedily as possible, and they have pleasure in remarking that, with very few exceptions, those able to work have readily embraced the opportunity of placing themselves in a situation of independence.

The Committee and chief contributors and labourers in the work are of the class who take the lead in the Bible and Missionary and other Benevolent Institutions in the mother country and the United States. The clergymen of most of the Toronto Evangelical churches are among the office-bearers, supported by many of their most active and devoted members. It must be evident how important it is, in the position which Canada now holds to the coloured population, that there should be a well organized association, to which the friends of the oppressed may send their contributions from the British Islands and from the United States, with the most perfect confidence that these contributions will be faithfully and judiciously applied to the purposes for which they are bestowed.

This is the more necessary, as it is known to the Society that, in more cases than one, individuals have deceived the friends of the cause abroad, by false representations, and have procured money for Anti-Slavery purposes which have been applied to their own use.

The Society has recently received donations from various places in the three kingdoms, and they would call upon the friends of the cause to continue their aid. The tide of emigration from the United States to the Canadas will still continue, and from many causes may be expected to increase. Contributions may be forwarded to the President, Treasurer or Secretary of the Society, and the donors may rest satisfied that they will be faithfully and economically administered.

M. WILLIS, D. D., *President;*
THOMAS HENNING, *Secretary;*
ANDREW HAMILTON, *Treasurer.*

Toronto, C. W., July 15th, 1852.

ADDRESS

OF THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

To the Independent Democracy of the United States.

FELLOW-DEMOCRATS: "Principles, not men," we have been taught to regard as a fundamental article of the Democratic creed—an adherence to which is required in all emergencies, under all circumstances, and under whatever disguises an abandonment of principle may assume.

It was an adherence to this course of action which made the Democracy a fixed fact in the history of this nation, and crowned it with glory and honour. Democracy opposes sectionalism, partial legislation, and injustice, and maintains the right of all men to Liberty and Equality before the laws.

The right of free discussion on all subjects bearing upon the well-being and happiness of the people, have especially been insisted upon by the fathers of the Democratic faith, as an essential element in securing the happiness of the people.

The "Alien and Sedition Laws" were justly odious to the Democrats of a former day—the one because it violated the rights of foreigners, and the other because it prohibited the people to speak or write anything derogatory of the Government. The latter law was disregarded, treated as a nullity and an insult, and was speedily expunged from the Statute Book.

Privilege and monopoly, in various shapes, have since presented themselves for the sanction of the American people; but they have uniformly been driven from the field, abashed and disappointed. The latest development of this combination threatens to be the most formidable of all the efforts made by the advocates of class legislation. It comes to us clothed in an angel's garb—in the garb of Democracy; and would fain deceive the people to obey its mandates, and enthrone its candidates as the true representatives of Democratic principles. The Convention which met at Baltimore, on the 2d of June last, presented as its compromise candidates, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King, of Alabama, for Vice President.

Without dwelling upon the character of the gentlemen selected to fill the highest offices in the gift of the Republic, let us consider the principles promulgated by the Convention, adherence to which is made the test of Democracy.

They resolved to "abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the *Compromise measures*, settled by the last Congress—*the act for the reclaiming of fugitives from service or labour included;*" and further, "That the *Democratic party will resist attempts at renewing*, in Congress or out of it, the *agitation* of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made."

This pledge to stop agitation is as preposterous as it is wicked. It is a vile attempt to gag the mouths of freemen, and to interdict the freedom of speech. Was it for this our fathers passed through a seven years' war of blood and carnage, to give force and efficacy to their solemn declaration that "all men are created equal"—that they are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness?" Shall we, their sons, endorse by our acquiescence so wicked an imputation upon our manhood and ancestry? Every holy feeling of Right, Justice, and Humanity, condemns submission to such a pledge.

Agitation! Without it, the ocean would be but a stagnant pool, spreading miasma and disease over the world. Agitation! All nature around us is one extensive system of agitation, almost endlessly diversified; and the bosoms of Democrats are no exception to the rule. The promulgation of such a pledge has stirred up such an *agitation* within the breasts of independent Democrats as will teach the advocates of class legislation that they have gone a step too far.

We have no controversy with our Southern brethren. We grant them all their constitutional rights; but when they attempt to gag the mouths of independent Democrats, and prohibit them from discussing any subject intimately connected with the happiness of the people and the perpetuity of the Republic, candour, no less than justice, requires that we should indicate our position. We cannot stand upon any such platform.

We love the principles of Democracy, recognising as it does the brotherhood of the race, and the equality of all mankind as regards the rights of all men before the law; but when the advocates of a gigantic monopoly combine together, and seek to make *Liberty sectional* and *Slavery national*, to deny to freemen the right to express their thoughts, and exact a pledge of the Democracy to suppress agitation, we feel compelled to repudiate the platform, and those who support it.

Mr. Pierce, the nominee for President, in his letter accepting the nomination, thus gives in his adhesion to the platform adopted by the Convention, viz.:

"I accept the nomination upon the platform adopted by the Convention, not because it is expected of me as a candidate, but because the principles it embraces *command* the *approbation of my judgment*."

Mr. King, the nominee of the Compromise Democrats for Vice President, is no less explicit. In a letter written by him on the 26th July, 1851, to C. H. Donaldson, he was peculiarly bitter upon independent Democrats, and declared that "*so long* as a large portion of the former Democracy of the North lend themselves to the advocacy of Free Soil doctrines, and make common cause with the *infamous agitators* and Abolitionists, no portion of the Southern Democracy will ever be found acting in concert with them. All our troubles have arisen from the extraordinary conduct of those professing Democrats," &c. Thus exhibiting his devotion to the rankest Sectionalism, and making adhesion thereto a test of Democracy.

Such being the case, we cannot by any act of ours support Gen. Pierce for the Presidential office, without losing our respect for the principles which constitute the foundation of Democracy. To do so, would be to emulate the conduct of the enterprising individual who undertook to perform Shakspeare's play of Hamlet, *with the part of Hamlet omitted.*

Thomas Jefferson, the apostle of Democracy, in his writings upon our system of Slavery, says:

"With what execration should the statesmen be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms these into despots and those into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other." * * * "Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath? I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in this contest." * * * "But we must wait with patience the working of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their tears shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and, by diffusing a light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of blind fatality."

Thomas Jefferson never hesitated to avow his sentiments; and we, his disciples, cannot without dishonour submit to the gag; the pledge to resist all attempts at agitation, we cannot subscribe to. We therefore enter our protest against it.

When a Convention calling itself Democratic, so far loses sight of the principles of Democracy as to pledge itself and its candidates to suppress agitation on a subject of commanding importance, and the nominess of that Convention accept the pledge we hesitate not to say that we feel bound by our allegiance to Democratic principles to reject the pledge and its candidates. We have laboured for the Democracy; we have rejoiced at its triumphs, and been depressed at its defeats. We regret now to separate from those of our brethren with whom we have heretofore acted for the advancement of Democratic principles, who now seem willing to compromise those principles for Slaveholding support.

Men change, but principles are eternal. It is for no slight cause that we now take a stand as Independent Democrats, independent of the platform adopted by the politicians who assembled at Baltimore; but not independent of the sacred principles of Democracy, which are enshrined in the hearts of the American people; independent, as regards submission to the insolent demands of the Slave Power, but willing and desirous to co-operate in all efforts to establish and make permanent the great principles upon which the Republic was originally founded.

But, some may ask, as you repudiate the platform adopted at Baltimore, upon what platform do you stand? The question is pertinent, and easily answered. The Mass Convention of Independent Democrats which met at Buffalo in August, 1848, resolved "that our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States in order to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty; but expressly denied to the General Government all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process; that Congress has no more power to make a slave than it has to make a king; that it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of Slavery, wherever that Government has constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence; that we will have no more Slave States and no Slave territory; that we demand cheap postage for the people, a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government, the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries, and the election, so far as practicable, of all civil officers; free grants of land to actual settlers on our public lands, and the abolition of the national debt."

To this we may add the resolutions adopted by the Independent Democracy of Massachusetts, at their recent Convention at Worcester, viz:

"Resolved, That we cordially concur in the sentiment expressed by the late Democratic Convention, 'that the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers;' and, therefore,

"Resolved, That Congress possesses no authority whatever to legislate for the rendition of fugitives from service or labour, such legislation being a dangerous encronchment upon the sovereignty of the States, a clear violation of their reserved rights, and, in the form which it has assumed in the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, repugnant to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We therefore demand its immediate and total repeal.

"Resolved, That any future acquisition of territory by the United States, whether by purchase, treaty, conquest, or otherwise, ought to be and must be upon the fundamental condition that Slavery shall be wholly and forever excluded from such territory.

"Resolved, That the Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbours, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers; and it is expedient that Congress shall exercise that power whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence or for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the States.

"Resolved, That the public lands of the United States should be held as a trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, without charge to actual settlers.

"Resolved, That every nation has a right to choose its own Government, and arrange its own affairs, and any foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent Governments should protest, and which they should endeavour by all proper means to prevent; especially is it the duty of free nations to protest against and prevent the intervention of despots to suppress republican or constitutional Governments."

Here, then, we take our stand. Were the question one merely about men, we should be silent. A great principle is about to be stricken down, and necessity, not choice, compels us to indicate our position.

We therefore call upon the Independent Democracy throughout the land to rally in support of the principles of the Democratic faith. They are worthy of your cordial support. Be not deceived by vain words, or by the deceptive rallying cries of those who, having usurped the control of the organization of the Democratic party, now seek to influence you to endorse their Compromise platform, and thus stultify yourselves by declaring against the national principle of Freedom, and in favour of the sectional institution of Slavery.

We reiterate the truth that Freedom is National, and was designed to be so by the founders of the Republic. Shall Independent Democrats basely desert the principles which they sought to establish at so great an expense of blood and treasure? We will not, we cannot believe it. And, thus believing, we cordially and earnestly request you to unite with us in an effort to make the Democratic principle available and effective.

Efforts are making to divide California, so as to form a Slave State out of the Southern portion of it, and the Slavery propagandists are active and untiring in their exertions to extend the institution in other quarters. Under these circumstances, we trust no apology is needed for the earnestness with which we address you. The feeling of Liberty is not dead in American bosoms; the love of Democracy is not extinct among the people; we therefore appeal with confidence from the *Politicians* who have betrayed the principles of Democracy at the behest of sectional interest, to the pure and undefiled National feelings of the People themselves.

In the present crisis, we cannot hesitate in the course we should pursue. To hesitate now, would be to betray the cause of Democracy—a cause dear to our hearts, a cause worthy the deepest devotion and the noblest exertion of every friend of the Rights of Man. To falter now would be base betrayal.

Let, then, the friends of Independent Democracy come to the Convention which is to meet at Pittsburgh, on the 11th of August next, and, by a united and vigorous effort, place a man in nomination who shall inspire our friends with confidence, and there speak in a voice potential in favour of Freedom for the nation. Let every Independent Democrat solemnly declare, in the language of Col. Benton, "Party machinery never did, and never shall, make me dishonour myself." A noble sentiment, and worthy to be acted on.

Submission now will embolden the friends of Monopoly and the advocates of Class Legislation to make new demands for compliance with their wishes, and new manacles will be formed to fetter and bind the Democracy to the car of an insolent Despotism.

Resistance now is not only a duty, but a failure to resist will class us with the "acquiescent" Democracy of France, which has become the scorn and contempt of the world by its base betrayal of the Rights of Man. *Agitation* is suppressed in France, Freedom of Speech is ignored, the liberty of the Press is a mockery! In that unhappy land, independence is a crime, and is punished by proscription and banishment from home and country. Shall we permit a similar stagnation to prevail in the United States? Let an indignant NEVER! be the response.

By order.

A. M. GANGEWER, *Secretary.*

Editors throughout the United States are requested to copy this Address.

MATTERS AND THINGS IN VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, Va., April, 1852.

IMPRESSIONS OF SLAVERY.

I repeat, that I do not suppose six weeks' residence at the South, entitles me to speak of Slavery with absolute certainty. I am only to tell what I saw, and the impressions actually made by it on my own mind. I have been told a hundred times, that actual observation of the South, would modify my opinions, and mitigate my opposition to Slavery; but in fact, it has modified my opinion only to compel me to believe that I had had too favourable an opinion of the condition of the slaves.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

In this respect, I was agreeably disappointed. I had seen engravings of negroes, got up by the Abolitionists, picturing them as pleasing, and even beautiful; and I had always regarded these as mere fancy pieces, intended to awaken sympathy for the race. But I have seen numbers of full-blooded negroes, whose whole expression was as pleasing, as the most flattering of these engravings. Besides, judging merely from what I have seen in the streets and other public places, I estimate that very nearly half of the slaves are of mixed blood; and every week increased my surprise at the number of really pretty faces and forms that I noticed among these.

I was, however, impressed with the number of the maimed, crippled and deformed. I have no information on this point, except from my own observation in the streets; but I am sure I never, in Boston, New York or Philadelphia, to say nothing of smaller cities at the North, have seen so many of these, as among the coloured people of the South.

TREATMENT OF SLAVES.

You will be told continually at the South, that the slaves are well treated; that kindness is the rule, and unkindness is the exception; and all who tell you so, themselves believe it. But before we affirm or deny such an assertion, it is worth while to know what is the standard of kindness which the speaker has in his mind. I have often observed in Southerners a most undoubting belief that slaves are well treated, when they seem to an unsophisticated Northerner to be faring hard. The reason is, that they reckon that to be good treatment for a slave which they would not think good treatment for a white person; it is good treatment "*for them.*" Now, if Northerners and Southerners would understand one another, it is necessary to know what is the standard of kindness in the mind of each; do they speak of what would be good treatment of white people, or only what is good treatment of slaves? If by kind treatment, you mean such as you wish for your own wife, or child, or parent, then it is not true, that kindness is the rule, and unkindness is the exception. Your blood would boil if they were subjected to treatment such as is received by the great majority of slaves. If by kindness, you mean such kindness as a man shows to a valued horse or dog, then undoubtedly, kindness is the rule, and unkindness the exception. But let us go to particulars.

FLOGGING.

I have never seen a slave flogged. Being mostly in towns, at hotels and boarding-houses, I had no opportunity. Yet it is more common than I had supposed—because if slaveholders get a servant with whom they can get along without flogging at all, you hear them speak of it, as a rare and note-worthy case. At the same time, I have no reason to suppose that extreme severity, which disables the slave or endangers his life, is common.

DRESS.

Masters frequently speak of their slaves being well dressed. They often say, "My slaves dress on Sunday better than I do." On the Easter holidays and on Sundays, I saw some dressed very fine, and the most dressed comfortably; yet they are less dressy than I supposed. I am sure there is a larger proportion of genteelly dressed negroes at the North—miserable as the Southerners represent our Northern free negroes to be. In fact, I think I saw actually a greater number of genteelly dressed negroes in New York than in any Southern city. During the week, you see many negroes miserably clad, and some were such bundles of rags, as really amazed me. At a wooding place on Cape Fear River, I saw three girls with cart and oxen, drawing wood. The oxen, like all the cattle I saw in Carolina, were lean as Pharaoh's lean kine. The girls stood laughing on the bank while we wooded our boat; but one of them was so tattered as to be absolutely indecent.

HOUSES.

In Carolina, I saw some negro huts without any floor but the earth, and many in which was an uncloased interstice of two or three inches between every two logs, so that when lighted with pine knots in the evening, they presented the appearance of houses on fire, with the flames just ready to burst through every crack. Falling in with a Methodist minister, who had laboured for some years as a missionary to the slaves on the Santee River, I asked if these huts were comfortable in winter? He said, "no." "But," said I, "I suppose the slaves generally have comfortable houses." "I am sorry to say," he replied, "that many planters do not give their slaves comfortable houses; many are worse than these; and the slaves are not only uncomfortable, but get sick and broken down. But others give their slaves comfortable accommodations."

SEPARATING FAMILIES.

The business of the speculator in slaves is execrated in Virginia; at any time you may hear any respectable slaveholder speak of it in the strongest terms of abhorrence. And there is a strong and general feeling against separating families. Yet for all this, the business of the speculator continually goes on; public sales occur almost every morning in Richmond; and I myself attended three different rooms on one morning, at each of which the coarse, brutal faces, and burly forms of the slave-traders were to be seen. And, if I should judge from what I saw, I should say that families were separated at these sales every day. I found it common for children to know nothing of their own fathers, and sometimes nothing of their mothers.

And, at the best, the negro can have little of real domestic enjoyment. More frequently than otherwise, the father and mother belong to different masters, and are separated, with the exception of occasional visits; and when the children reach the age of eight or ten, it is scarcely regarded as a separation of families to sell them; so that the parents are like the birds, acquainted with their children only till they are able to work for themselves, and then separated after for life. And the idea of a family growing up together, keeping up acquaintance and intercourse, and the parents in old age comforted by their children, is one rarely realized, so far as I have observed, by the slaves.

FOOD AND EARNINGS.

On these points I can give no information from my own observation, but cite from *The Southern Quarterly* the statement of an Alabama planter, who is recommending his own unusual liberality as a matter of economy and profit, as well as of humanity. To each individual over ten years old, he gives three and a half pounds of bacon and one peck of meal a week. He gathers all the children into one house, under the charge of a woman, while their parents are at work, where also the sick are nursed. He allows each hand one-half an acre to cultivate for his own benefit, and to a large family one and a half acres. The avails of this he estimates at from ten to fifty dollars a year. I learned, however, that the planters, to a considerable extent, encourage their slaves to cultivate their own lots on the Sabbath. I could not learn that the tasks imposed on the slaves were excessive; to a New-Englander they appear easy.

Waiters at the hotels and boarding-houses are usually allowed to appropriate to themselves whatever is given them by the guests. One fellow who waited on me, as faithful and obliging as need be, and for eighteen years the property of the landlord, told me as I left that he liked Northerners much better than Southerners, because, he said, they were not so hard to please, and always gave him more money. He said Southern families would come there and board a whole season, and not give him a cent; while never a Northerner left without giving him something, and sometimes a family would give him five dollars. I was amused at this, because Southerners have the bad habit of talking continually of their own generosity, in contrast with the niggardliness of Northerners. In railroads, steamboats, and all public places, you hear this fulsome self-adulation till you are nauseated.

GENERAL ESTIMATION.

I had never realized how utterly the slave is extinguished—blotted out of being, so far as all rights are concerned, and all influence and consideration in society. The principle in law, that the slave is a chattel, is carried out with an awful literalness; it pervades all the usages, the opinions, and feelings of society. I was not prepared for this; I find it difficult to realize it, even now that I see it; I could scarcely have deemed it possible that so many men and women could exist, and be so destitute of all influence; that society could so completely blot them out from all consideration, and roll on just as if their rights, feelings, interests, did not exist. They have no more voice, influence, or consideration, than so many cattle. They themselves so regard themselves; and it is painful to see men and women so cringingly void of all sense of their own manhood. Master's little son meets a stout negro-boy in the door-yard; in mere wantonness, he seizes one ear of the negro in each hand, and stands kicking his shins. The negro dares not resist, but receives it in silence, and when the little tyrant is done, sneaks off. You may talk of the *abuse* of Slavery: it is not possible to abuse it; everything short of tyranny is short of what its fundamental principle might entitle us to expect; humanity will not often go to the full length of what that principle allows; to talk of abusing such a power is to talk absurdly. The great difficulty is to realize the fearful iniquity of that one principle; and I confess I never realized to what an extent that principle had silently and unconsciously diffused itself through all the feelings, opinions, usages, and practical operations of Southern society.

CHARACTER AND CONTENTMENT.

Slaveholders tell me—I have heard the remark often from them—"The niggers are always stealing; they will steal anything they can lay their hands on. They will steal an article worth a dollar, and sell it for ninepence. They lie, and you cannot trust them." Great numbers of them are in the churches; they are peculiarly susceptible of religious feeling; but the missionary already referred to, who had spent years in labouring amongst them, assured me that little reliance could be placed on the piety of most of them. He said they would lose it as easy as they got it; and, in spite of their religion, would lie and steal. He said a few were steadfast, faithful, and reliable, and but a few.—*Puritan Recorder.*

AN INCIDENT IN SLAVE LIFE.

We have the following from undoubted authority, from one who is able to give the time, place, and names of persons. The actors in the scene are all or most of them living.

"A colored man who had obtained his own freedom by placing the Ohio river between him and his master, a liberty which he, however, held by a precarious title, though it was previous to the enactment of the late Fugitive Law: was compelled to leave his wife behind him in bondage. He did not, however, forget her. Freedom without her was but half enjoyed, while the thought of what she was suffering embittered his days.

"He meditated many a scheme for her deliverance, which, however, he was unable to put into execution. Her master was a Presbyterian minister, in good standing with his church, and preaching regularly to a congregation not more than a day's journey from the banks of the Ohio.

"He, however, had no inclination to practice that portion of the gospel which proclaims deliverance to the captives; and the enslaved wife was thus held in forcible separation from her husband by one who professed to be a follower of Jesus, an example to the flock.

"The husband of this woman was brave and determined, and he had a brother of a spirit like unto his own, who was also a fugitive from Slavery.

"The two concerted a plan for the deliverance of the wife. Inasmuch as the brother was unknown to the master, and would therefore be less likely to be interrupted in his enterprise, it was determined that he should cross the river, visit the plantation, and attempt her rescue. The husband, meanwhile, was to prepare himself, and meet them at the ferry on the Kentucky side.

"Late on Saturday night the brother reached the plantation of the minister, and on Sabbath morning, just before the time for service, it was ascertained that the preacher's slave had fled. The first impulse of the minister was to make instant pursuit himself, but, remembering his pulpit duties, he mounted his horse, and having given the alarm, and started some well-armed friends on the track, he applied himself to the ministerial duties of the day, preaching in person, and hunting slaves by proxy on the day of God.

"The fugitives had the advantage of the night travel, but the pursuers were mounted, and at the very instant when the husband met and congratulated his wife and brother on the banks of the river, the horsemen in pursuit dashed down the ferry, and threw themselves from their horses to secure their prey.

"They at once remonstrated, and spoke of the wickedness of this *stealing*. The consciences of the blacks seemed very hard, they showed no penitence. The joys of plantation-life, and the excellencies of their master, were pressed upon them, and the contemptuous laugh showed how little they appreciated these comforts.

"Large promises of better treatment, of sumptuous fare, were made, but this too made no perceptible impression. The Kentuckians, enraged, drew their revolvers; the husband and brother coolly presented theirs also, and told them that they also were ready to shoot. They stood close by the small skiff used at the ferry, its bows just clinging to the shore. The blacks facing their pursuers, and with pistols presented, with the wife behind them, marched *backward* to the boat. The woman and brother seated themselves, and the husband stepped in and shoved it off. The water was shallow, and a Kentuckian rushed forward and seized her bow, and attempted to drag it back to shore, but a bullet from the brother's pistol grazing the top of his head stunned him for an instant; but in a moment more, recovering, he seized once more the boat, when the husband shot him through the breast, and he fell while the boat was shoved rapidly into the stream, and in a minute's time, and before the wounded man could be raised from the water, was making rapid headway towards the Northern shore. A volley of shots from the Kentuckians' revolvers was now discharged at the fugitives, bullets splashed the water at their side, and one ball struck the leg of one of the men; but a few moments placed them out of the reach of pistol shot, and they were soon in the hands of friends, and in a place of safety.

"The wounded man was placed in a house near by, and seemed approaching his end.

"The next morning the ministerial master having finished his sabbath teachings, hurried to the scene. He found that his slave had indeed escaped, and that his hired pursuer was probably mortally wounded. Finding that nothing could be accomplished by remaining, he gave his dying friend some excellent counsel about life's uncertainties and trials, but, as he held his hand in parting, said: 'Brother, though you must die, there is one consolation, *you will soon be in a world where there are no nigger-stealers!*' After this pathetic farewell, this '*extreme unction*,' he left for home, to resume his position at the head of his flock, a brilliant example of the pious slaveholder!"

We have exaggerated nothing, and added nothing to the above. The main incidents were related to us, as they are described by one who knows the parties, and whose truthfulness no man dares doubt.—*Christian Press.*

IN A TIGHT SPOT.—Mr. Townshend (Free Democrat), of Ohio, in the course of a very able speech in the U. S. House of Representatives, on the Present Position of the Democratic Party, relates the following incidents of his own personal experience:

Some twelve years since, I was a medical student in Paris. On one occasion, while we awaited our professor, one of my friends, an eloquent young man, was called up for a speech. He rose, and spoke admirably of the advantages of a republican form of government, and he illustrated the good effects of Democratic government by some happy allusions to the United States. When he took his seat, another student, attached to the interest of Charles X., rose to reply, turned to ridicule all the allusions to this country as a nation in which one-sixth of the whole population were in a state of absolute Slavery, chattels personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever. My friend who spoke first rose, and, not being well posted up in relation to our internal affairs, denied that Slavery did exist in the United States; that with the Declaration of Independence, and all their noble declarations of the inherent and inalienable rights of man, the existence of Slavery was impossible. Looking around, his eye fell upon me. He immediately called me out by name, introducing me to the class, and demanding that I should have an opportunity to defend the injured honour of my country, by contradicting the foul slanders of the legitimist who had aspersed her.

Gentlemen, that was the only time in my life that I felt myself in a tight spot. Not able to speak the French language with fluency, but, worse than all, knowing that Slavery did exist in many of the States of this Republic, I made the best defence I could—not of Slavery, but for the country—by stating that the United States was a Union of sovereign and independent States, each having its separate Government, and own code of laws, and institutions, with which other States had nothing to do; that though Slavery did exist in some States, the other States were not responsible for its existence, and that the same was also true of the United States Government—it had no power or authority over the subject in the States, and therefore no responsibility. Well do I remember the look with which those students heard from me the admission that Slavery did exist in some of the United States, and the astonishment and almost despair with which my friend exclaimed—*horrible! horrible—il n'est pas possible que vous ayez l'esclavage en les Etats Unis.* If I had not then hated Slavery with my whole heart and soul, I should have done so from that moment.

In Dublin, I accompanied a friend to a temperance meeting—it was while some controversy was pending between Mr. Stevenson, our Minister to the Court of St. James, and Mr. O'Connell. My friend, who had the name of Stevenson associated with everything American, introduced me to the meeting as Mr. Stevenson, from the United States. The true Irish love of liberty was immediately aroused, and one after another began to say, "He is a slaveholder!" "He is a slave-breeder!" "He sells women and children!" "Put him out!" "Oh! the thief!" "Put him out!" My friend was utterly amazed at the confusion, until I explained to him his mistake. When he had corrected the blunder to the meeting, and my hostility to human bondage was vouched for, I was heard with respectful attention. You must make men insensible to such influences as these, if you expect them to let Slavery rest in eternal quiet.

THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.

Letter (in The Independent) to Gerard Hallock, Editor of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

DEAR SIR: Allow me to call your attention to a provision in the Constitution of the United States which seems to me to impose upon Congress certain legislative duties, as sacred at least, and as urgent, as the duty of making laws to facilitate the recapture of fugitives from Slavery. The provision to which I refer is in the 9th section of the first article:

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

You are aware that the words, "importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit," are a euphemism for the African slave trade. You are further aware that the power by which Congress has prohibited the African slave trade, and has made it piracy, is not to be looked for in this section. We have here no grant of power at all, but simply a limitation on the exercise of a power elsewhere granted. The framers of the Constitution knew that among the powers granted to Congress in the preceding section, there was full power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." They knew that the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations," unless it should be in some way circumscribed, would include the power to prohibit the African slave trade. Certain States, it was well understood, were not prepared to surrender their sovereign right of importing slaves; and in order to obtain their assent to a federal constitution which invested Congress with the power of prohibiting such importation, it was necessary to provide that, in that report, the power of Congress over commerce with foreign nations should be suspended for a period of twenty years. This proviso then must be taken as showing that in the true intent and meaning of the Constitution, the power to regulate foreign commerce is a power to prohibit the foreign slave trade. On this point, the Constitution determines its own interpretation.

I would not presume that I am saying anything about the Constitution which is not already very familiar to you. But let me call your attention to the fact that by the same terms, and by the identical clause by which Congress is invested with jurisdiction over "commerce with foreign nations," it is also invested with jurisdiction over commerce "among the several States." Does the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations include power to prohibit commerce in slaves with foreign nations? Then, beyond all question, the power to regulate commerce among the several States includes power to prohibit commerce in slaves among the several States. What abstractionist statesmen may have held or said on this point, I do not know. But I do know that this is a very plain case of interpretation for one who has common sense, and who has no interest to bias his judgment.

This grant of power over commerce in slaves among the several States determines, I think, the meaning of the word "migration" in the provision above quoted from the Constitution of the United States. "The *migration* or importation of [a certain unmentionable class of persons] shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." Is the word "migration" a mere pleonasm—a synonym thrust in to explain the word "importation"? Or is the meaning of the proviso simply this—that Congress, prior to the year 1808, shall not exercise its power to prohibit either the "migration" of the unmentionable sort of persons from State to State, or their importation from foreign countries? If Congress, in the year 1795, had been invited to prohibit the migration of slaves from one State to another, would not this proviso have been referred to, as showing the power of Congress to prohibit such migration, prior to the year 1808?

To my mind, then

to some opposite opinion, that the Constitution, when it was framed and adopted, was understood as conferring on Congress no less power over the slave trade among the several States, than over the slave trade with foreign countries. If we regard the Constitution as having been framed with the expectation that the African slave trade was to be abolished after twenty years of tolerance, are we not required to assume that there was a similar expectation in regard to the internal or inter-State slave trade?

The government of the United States, under the Constitution, was not completely organized till the 21st of April, 1789. As early as 1794. Congress began to interfere with the African slave trade, by enacting that no person in the United States should fit out any vessel there, for the purpose of carrying on any traffic in slaves *to* any foreign country, or for procuring from any foreign country the inhabitants thereof, to be disposed of as slaves. Six years later, it was made unlawful for any citizen of the United States to have any property in any vessel employed in transporting slaves from one foreign country to another, or to serve on board any vessel so employed. In 1807, it was enacted that, after the 1st of January, 1808, it should not be lawful to bring into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign place, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with intent to hold or sell him as a slave. In 1820, it was enacted that participation in the foreign slave trade by any citizen of the United States, should be adjudged piracy, and should be punished with death.

Ask yourself now, if you please, *why* these successive enactments were framed against the African slave trade. Will any body tell you that all those laws, from 1794 to 1819, were enacted by Congress "in pursuance of a Constitutional duty"? No! Congress had indeed the Constitutional *power* to enact those laws; but the Constitution prescribed no such *duty*. These successive enactments against the African slave trade were framed in obedience to "a higher law than the Constitution." Our statesmen, in those days, had not learned to be ashamed of doing right when they had the power to do it. The African slave trade was forbidden, and was at last denounced by law as piracy, not on grounds of policy or public expediency, but simply because of its intrinsic wickedness.

Meanwhile, however, the internal slave traffic was suffered to take its course. Prior to the abolition of the African slave trade, it must have been comparatively inconsiderable. Probably, it was too inconsiderable to attract much attention. But during this period, COTTON was slowly becoming a great power in the commercial world, and was beginning to be felt in politics; though its potency had not yet extended into the sphere of morals and religion. The invention of Arkwright and others had put it into the power of British cotton-spinners to manufacture for the world; and the invention of Eli Whitney, on our side of the Atlantic, had enabled the cotton-planters of our Southern States to keep up with the growing demand for the raw material. Slowly the territories now included in the States of Alabama and Mississippi were beginning to be occupied with plantations; and in 1803, Louisiana, with a great extent of soil and climate suited to the growth of cotton and of sugar, was acquired by a treaty with the government of France. Thus, though there was no considerable "migration" of human-born slaves from one State to another, as long as the "importation" of slaves from Africa continued, causes were in operation which could not but stimulate that migration when the importation was no longer tolerated.

The abolition of the African slave trade, then, has had the effect of binding the slaveholding States into one community, held together not merely by the fact that they all have slaves, but much more by the mutual dependence of the slave-buyers and the slave-sellers. Instead of the African slave trade, there has grown up an American slave trade, with horrors of its own. The statistics of this "dreadful trade," are not easily got at. You remember the alarm of Southern Senators, when, in the plan for taking the census of 1850, there had been inadvertently inserted a question or two by which facts were to be ascertained concerning the migration from the old States to the new; and how peremptorily they insisted on suppressing an inquiry which was likely to reveal what they thought had better be kept secret. Yet now and then some startling fact, grimly significant, looms up from that valley of the shadow of death. For example, as long ago as 1833, Professor William R. Dew, of William and Mary College, in an argument against the abolition of Slavery which had been proposed in Virginia, proclaimed the fact that the high-minded "Old Dominion" was at that time exporting her own native population as merchandise, at the rate of 6,000 souls every year, and was receiving in return for them the gross annual amount of $1,200,000. The census, too, from one decennial period to another, notwithstanding the vigilance with which impertinent Yankee questions are excluded, reveals, to those who "calculate," some astounding facts.

In 1820, for example, the slave population of Virginia was (in round numbers) 425,000. None can doubt that the slave population of that State, in respect climate, food, treatment, and all physical advantages, is as favourably situated for multiplying itself as the slave population of perhaps any other State in the Union—certainly more favourably situated than the aggregrate slave population of the Union as a whole. Since 1820, the slave population of the Union has increased from 1,538,000 to 3,198,000. Had the slave population of Virginia increased at the same rate, the census of 1850 would have reported from that State 882,000 slaves; whereas the number actually returned by the census is only 427,528—leaving 411,472 unaccounted for. The manumissions in Virginia, during those thirty years, cannot have been in a much greater ratio to the number of slaves than the manumissions in the Union at large, for it must be remembered that, within the period in question, the abolition of Slavery has been consummated in New York and New Jersey. Nor will the escape of fugitives account for any portion of the difference between what the slave population of Virginia is in the census of 1850, and what the general rate of increase requires it to be; for there is no reason to suppose that Virginia (not being a border State) loses more slaves by flight than the average of the slave States generally. Make the largest reasonable allowance for the few slaves who, in company with their hereditary masters, have migrated, unsold and in unbroken families, from old Virginia to new plantations in the South-west; and the remainder will show you the operation of the Virginia slave trade for these thirty years.

But the slave trade is not carried on from Virginia alone. In the state of Maryland the slave population thirty years ago was 107,000. The manumissions and escapes are much more numerous in Maryland than in Virginia—more numerous, probably, than the average for the whole Union. On the other hand, the number of hereditary masters emigating from Maryland to the South-west, with their own "people," is probably less in proportion than the number thus emigrating from Virginia. With the utmost allowance for diminution from these various causes, the natural increase of the slaves in Maryland since 1820 must have been not far from 100 *per cent.*, the increase for the whole Union having been 108 *per cent.* At that rate, the census for 1850 would have reported from Maryland 214,000 slaves, instead of which it reports only 90,368. More than the whole natural increase for these thirty years has been swallowed up by the slave trade.

This American slave trade, I said, has horrors of its own. Who are the victims of it? Not savage Africans, only a few degrees above the level of the brutes—human only in their capabilities, but native Americans. They have been born in a temperate climate; they have been accustomed to labours comparatively light; they have lived under bondage, indeed, but where there is some chance of their becoming free, or at least some hope of freedom for their posterity. They have some degree of civilization and of knowledge. Many of them, members of churches, preachers perhaps of the gospel to those of their own class, have the sensibilities and aspirations that are developed by Christian civilization. Many of them are of "Anglo Saxon" lineage; not a few of them with the proudest and hottest blood of the cavaliers coursing in their veins. These people are torn from all the associations of home and native soil, from all domestic ties, however sacred, from all objects of natural affection and natural duty, from all human hope this side of death. Manacled and fettered for safe keeping, driven in weary coffles along the inland routes, or carried coastwise in the floating hell of the slave-ship, they are swept to a bondage on which no hope of freedom gleams; and henceforth, with such masters as the chances of traffic may give them, they are to labour till death, under the fiercer sun that ripens the cotton, or amid the miasma of the rice-ground and the cane-field. And who are the agents of this traffic? Men, who, as all Southern gentlemen assure us, are simply infamous—the very worst and most detested class that Slavery and the slave trade engenders in society; men whose contact is shunned as if it were infection.

Such is the American slave trade, and such are its statistics, as nearly as the census will give them. And yet intelligent men in our northern cities, men of humane and Christian sympathies, but misled by commercial interests, directly or indirectly, or by the influences of ecclesiastical partizanship, will tell us, with such statistics as these within their reach, that the representation of slavery given in Mrs. Stowe's exquisite story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is unjust. Yes, men, and women too, of high culture and refined sensibility, while the census informs us and informs the world, that this slave trade, with its unutterable crimes and miseries, violating everything that is holy, and tearing every heart-string, numbering, at the lowest estimate, from 20,000 to 40,000 victims every year,—can make up their faces to tell us, that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a mischievous book. "LORD! WHAT IS MAN, THAT THOU ART MINDFUL OF HIM?"

Perhaps you are wondering what all this has to do with a discussion of the Fugitive Slave Law. You shall see, if you will be patient. Let me ask, Why did Congress prohibit the African slave trade? Why follow up that prohibition with one act after another, increasing in stringency, till the importation of a slave from Africa was made piracy? Was it the manifest duty of Congress to enact those laws? Would it not be an outrage on the moral sense of the nation and of the world to repeal them? Then why has not Congress provided a parallel series of laws against this American slave trade? Why is it that the laws against the African slave trade have been permitted to become in effect a series of measures for the protection of the American slave breeder against foreign competition? Is there any good reason for such discrimination? Are such men as the slave-trading firm of Bruin and Hill any better, or any less worthy of the gallows, than a man who buys slaves on the coast of Africa, except as the law which condemns the one protects the other!

There are two plain reasons, and no third, why the American slave trade from one state to another is not prohibited by act of Congress. The first is that if a bill for such an act were introduced, the Union would be immediately "in danger," by the "agitation;" and the bill consequently could not pass. The second is, that if such a bill were enacted, it could not, in the present state of public opinion at the South be carried into execution. There would be so many ways of evading it, and, indeed, it would be so generally regarded as an invasion of the sacred rights of property, that it would presently become a dead letter on the statute-book. Now I beg leave to say, that these two reasons are equally valid against the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. The enactment of *such* a law on that subject, and the attempt to carry it into execution have produced—and every renewed attempt to execute it will infallibly produce—"agitation," the agitation of the whole question of slavery in all its relations; and agitation, you know, makes it necessary for commercial men, and patriotic men, and eloquent men, and good men, to do many things that would be otherwise very disagreeable—for the sake of saving the Union. And then the execution of such a law, violating, as it does, every sentiment of justice, and of sympathy with those who suffer, and breaking down the bulwarks erected by our ancestors for the defense of personal freedom, is sure to be resisted in every method of legal or peaceful opposition; and after a few more attempts, stirring the public mind with a deeper disgust and indignation, it will appear that the law is little more than a dead letter: *Such* a law ought never to have been enacted by a government too impotent or too cowardly to take any measure against the internal atrocity of the slave trade. And till Congress shall begin to assert its constitutional power against that trade—at least till it shall adopt some other policy than that of protecting the domestic producer of slaves against all foreign competition by the most effectual and discriminating duty that can be conceived—any *extra* constitutional zeal in way of giving positive aid to the re-capture of fugitives, may very decently be dispensed with.

The Constitution, as you will remember, contemplates only the case of a fugitive from "service or labour," and provides only that he shall be delivered up to the necessity of performing the service or labour from which he has fled. But the fact is, the legislation of Congress under the Constitution has been so conducted that now the fugitive does not fly from the mere obligation to service or labour imposed by the laws of the State which enslaves him, but rather from another evil, in comparison with which the obligation to life-long labour, unrequited, on his master's acres, is only a trifle. He does not escape merely from labour or service merely, but from the dreadful chance of falling into the hands of the slave-traders. And when he is caught by some base device of a venal police, and summarily "delivered up" by the sentence of a petty officer, fit for a business so degrading, he is never carried back to his former place, there to perform the service or labour to which he was held under the laws of State (which is what the Constitution contemplates and provides for); but he is carried to the slave-market, to a doom which thousands would pronounce more terrible than death. Suffer me to say that the framers of the Constitution never intended to make such a compact as this. Our fathers verily thought that the Constitution gave all necessary security for the complete *suppression* of the slave trade; but behold in the grand new Compromise of 1850, this Fugitive Slave Law is introduced, for the purpose of making the whole power of the Union, auxiliary to the conservation not of slavery only, but of that traffic in slaves which, in the words once used by Jefferson, is a continued "civil war against human nature itself."

How much occasion, think you, would there be for the re-capture of fugitives from slavery, if there were no slave-trade between one State and another? That slave trade *is* within the jurisdiction of the federal government; more evidently so than this business of re-capturing slaves: and I beg you and those who act with you, to remember that your constant agitation in behalf of this Fugitive Slave Law cannot but hasten the time when the people of the Union will demand and will have, the suppression of the slave-trade, as the legitimate and only method of putting an end to this wearisome and irritating agitation for the re-capture of the wretches who attempt to escape from its vortex.

Respectfully yours,
LEONARD BACON.

NEW HAVEN, July 6, 1852.

SPIRITUAL CONVENTION.—A Convention of believers in spiritual manifestations in their various forms, was commenced this morning at Washingtonian Hall, Broomfield street. About one hundred and fifty persons were present, who are mostly mediums or those who are earnestly desirous of being convinced as to the truth of the doctrines promulgated. This gathering is held to answer to a call for a State Convention to establish an Association of spiritualists for weekly conference and the development and extension of spiritual truths. The principal business accomplished this morning has been the organization of the meeting.

Rev. Adin Ballou was chosen President. A Committee to prepare business was appointed.

The male mediums were ranged on one side of the platform, and the female mediums on the other. The spirit acted upon a large, brawny-looking man, whose name we did not learn, and he, being in a spiritual trance, or being operated upon by the spirits, took the platform, and with his eyes closed, his features distorted, and his arms swinging, commenced what was termed by the initiated to be bringing the male and female mediums into harmony. After sawing the air with his arms for some time, he went to Mr. John M. Spear, who was seated on the platform, and taking him by the hand, led him to Andrew Jackson Davis, whom he also took by the hand, and led them both to the desk, and placing Mr. Spear's hand on the top of Mr. Davis' head, he left them in that position, and continued his operations for invoking the aid of the spirits.

Presently Mr. Spear opened his mouth and spoke, he appearing to be under some magnetic influence, and consecrated Mr. Davis to the harmonial work, by every thing that is noble, glorious, and much to be desired. The two gentlemen then sat down.

The member who first took the floor, with his eyes still closed, spoke, and said that the spiritual and the natural world were now about to be brought together, and that everything was working harmoniously; that the spirits were present. He predicted in a general way that the "good time" was certainly "coming." The gentleman then took his seat, and shortly came out of the trance.

A lady from Dedham then took the platform, and produced a large ledger-like volume, from which she proceeded to read several letters dictated by departed spirits and recorded by her in the volume. This lady is one of the most favoured of mediums, and seems to possess a large circle of correspondents in the other world, and among them Baron Swedenborg. She appears to be deeply affected by the communications she receives, and to order her life and conversation by the teachings of the spirits. The gist of the letters read by her was, that a judgment had been recorded, by which the spirits who were in the lower spheres—for it will be remembered that spirits in the other world, according to the mediums, are classified in seven spheres—had been raised, and that these lower, or as they are termed undeveloped spirits, will no more molest the believers. The letter from the spirit world went on to state that this had been done through the direct intercession of the spirits of the third, fourth and fifth sphere.

The lady stated that the good spirits had informed her that they were going to this prayer meeting, and that they should be absent three days. When they returned, they informed her that they had effected the object.

The lady also said that she had received evil or false communications from the lower or undeveloped spirits, and that they afterward, to the number of 29 or 30, had implored her to pray God that they might be removed into higher spheres. She complied with the request, and was afterward informed by them, and by other spirits, that through her prayers the lower spirits had been received into favour.

The letters from the Spirit-land also said that the Millennium was close at hand, when "nothing shall hurt or destroy in all the Lord's holy mountain." Whether this referred to the believers or to the "rest of mankind," was not distinctly stated.

This doctrine of the new judgment, which it was said went into effect the 22d day of July, 1852, the prayer-meeting in the seventh sphere, as well as other points mentioned above, were confirmed by other mediums present as having been communicated to them by the spirits.

If it was not for the fact that these things appear to be sincerely believed by those who are operated on, they would hardly deserve notice, except to be characterized as the veriest ravings of lunatics, or as the wildest blasphemy. The mediums are evidently honest in their belief, and undoubtedly are searching for the truth with earnestness.

Some very interesting proceedings may be expected before the close of the Convention.—*Boston Journal, Aug. 6.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New York*

†† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1852.

MR. SUMNER SILENCED.

MR. SUMNER'S long expected effort in the Senate has at last been made. It was certainly no premature attempt. He had not been swift to force upon Our Conscript Fathers that which was not well pleasing in their ears. He had, surely, not been lacking in courtesy, if courtesy consisted in silence. He had, apparently, adopted that philosophy of Milton (though, certainly, without the occasion of his blindness), which teaches that

"They also serve who *stand and wait!*"

He stood and waited long and well. He made the acquaintance of his slaveholding compeers and endeavoured to conciliate their good opinion. He satisfied them that he was not a man of One Idea. On the contrary, he gave precedence to several other Ideas, such as Cheap Ocean Postage and Public Lands, over that which he was at first supposed to be sent to Washington to represent. But it was all in vain. His patience had suffered long and was kind; but it was not permitted to do its perfect work. He has discovered (what we could have told him before) that Slavery is not a pussy-cat that can be coaxed and petted into being good; but an untameable tiger, whose claws are ever ready to spring out of the velvet that sheathes them when unprovoked, on the slightest alarm. Mr. Sumner is no Paul to fight with the wild beasts of that Ephesus. We think he mistook his mission when he went among them. He lacks the elements that must make up the Apostle to those Gentiles. It is his misfortune, perhaps, rather than his fault. It is not every man that can be a Van Amburgh in such a menagerie as our National show of Evil Beasts. It is not polish, and scholarship, and elegance of mind so much as force, strength, and energy, no matter if rough and uncouth, that is needed to control, if not to tame them.

We have never been among those who condemned Mr. Sumner, unequivocally, for his long season of silence. We have always looked upon it as ill-judged, as far as the light we had could enlighten us; but were willing he should take his time and judge of his own best opportunity. But the result has shown his policy to have been a short-sighted one. By delaying action so long, he has enabled the Adversary to baffle him on a false issue—to wreck him with a side wind. At an earlier period of the session, the pressure of public business could not have been made the lying excuse for shutting his mouth. And he would not have laid himself open to the imputation (we are confident a groundless one) of having waited until this excuse existed, so that he might escape under the cover of it. His substantial treatment would have been no different. He would have been gagged all the same. But, then, the slaveholders, and their backers, would have had to meet him face to face, and to put him down on the merits of the question. His attitude before the world would have been an unmistakeable one, and the tyrannical act by which he would have been silenced would have been capable of no equivocation or disguise. We think it is now plain to all men that he outstayed his time. He bided it, and it irrevocably slipped away from him. We could have wished that he had shown a little more fight, when he was seized and gagged. He surely might have introduced a word or two of protest. He might have made a Last Dying Speech, if not a Confession. What an opportunity for electrifying the Continent was there lost! Fifteen minutes—nay, five—would have done it! It may not be Mr. Sumner's fault that he is not charged with such electricity; but it is his very great misfortune. We fear he has missed the flood in the tide of his affairs. All men do not make allowances. We apprehend that the great mass of his own party, and of all who have watched his course with interest and hope, will be ready to exclaim, mentally, if not with the lips, as General Taylor did (barring the oath) when he heard of the surrender of Major Gaines, without striking a blow,

"By ——, Sir, I would have fought *a little* anyhow!"

The history of this country, ever since its fatal union under the Constitution of 1788, has been but a succession of insults and injuries heaped by the Slaveholders upon the North. The Admission of Kentucky, the purchase and admission of Louisiana, the war of 1812, with the Embargo that preceded and the Tariff that followed it, the Missouri Compromise, the Clay Compromise of 1832, the Annexation of Texas, the Dismemberment of Mexico and the Compromises of 1850, are but a portion of the procession of abominable events which has been trampling the life out of our liberties for the last sixty years. And here begins a new chapter. For the first time since the country was, has a Senator been prevented from laying any subject he deemed of public moment at large before the Senate. Of course, every legislative body has a right, as was maintained on this occasion, to decide whether a particular subject shall be considered at a particular time. And had another day been fixed for the hearing of what Mr. Sumner had to say, there would have been no ground of complaint. But the whole *gist* of the debate, and of the vote at the end of it, was, that this subject should not be re-opened. And that under the *duresse* of the rapid threats of those impudent varlets from Georgia and Mississippi that their States would Secede, if it were! It is not likely that either of these States sent *fools*, in the common acceptation of the term, to represent them in the United States Senate; and if not fools, those men know perfectly well that the Union is the only present safeguard of their Slavery. It was barbing with insult the shaft they aimed at the heart of Liberty. It was meant as an insult, whether it were, or will be, so taken or not.

It seems to us that the first duty of Mr. Sumner, and of every other man that claims to be a consistent friend to Constitutional Liberty is to persist in testing this new question of the Omnipotence of Congress. Congress now claims an Omnipotence transcending that of Parliament itself. Parliament can do what it will, its political power is absolute—but it has never claimed that any of its acts, not even the Settlement of the Crown, should be forever immutable. It was reserved for our patent Republicans to emulate the policy of the Medes and Persians of old time. It is true that Congress *is*, actually, absolute and politically omnipotent—far more dangerously so than the Parliament, because (paradoxical as it may sound) it is farther removed from popular influences. There is nothing that a majority in Congress can enact that will not be submitted to. True, there is a Tribunal erected for the purpose of measuring these acts by the Standard of the Constitution and rejecting those that it did not fit. And so there used to be a Parliament of Paris, in its origin as a check upon the Royal Authority. But it became, in process of time, a mere machine for registering the Edicts of the King. It has not taken the Parliament of Washington so many ages to degenerate from its first purpose. It has "gone a-head," like everything else in this hot-bed country. And now it sits at the end of the Capitol merely to register the Edicts of the Sovereigns under the same roof. And now there is not a law that could be passed by a sufficient majority, provided it expressed (as it must) the good pleasure of the Slaveholding element, that the Supreme Court would dare to pronounce unconstitutional. The Constitution is what the majority of Congress make it. As far as the National Government is concerned, we have as little liberty as the grasping Centralization of Paris has left to France. Our only safeguard lies in our separate State Sovereignties. And even there, there would be nothing to be hoped, as matters now stand, from the State Courts.

But, then, his is a state of things to be resisted. It is for the purpose of such resistance that Sumner, and Hale, and Giddings, and Mann, and Allen, should live and move and have their being. This question of the Omnipotence of Congress, of its power to stamp the seal of Eternity on its villanies, should be sifted and settled. If it cannot be settled in Congress, it must be settled out of it. It must be known whether the American People (we include under this name only those disconnected with the Slave System) are content to submit to this new tyranny, such as no constitutional government ever claimed for itself. If so, the American Revolution was a bitter mistake. If we were under a body over which we had no control, it was at least a body of *gentlemen*, who had no direct and necessary interest in insulting and injuring us. Now we are under the domination of an oligarchy of blacklegs and Slave-drivers, with no ground of authority except the ownership of human beings, better than themselves. It is time that such resistance as can be made in Congress, and out of it, should be opposed to these arbitrary attempts to stop progress and silence discussion. If they be not, we may be assured they will not stop where they are. New laws, restrictive of speech and press, impend over us unless averted by some show of spirit and resolution. When passed, there will be no shelter from them in the sanctuary of National or State Courts. The National tendency to procrastinate whatever does not immediately cost the pocket must be shaken off. Let us know, at least, how we stand and where we are. If there be no hope, let us "eat and be despised and die;" and as for Posterity, as Swift said of it in his time, it is of small consequence what becomes of them when we consider from what monsters they are to spring!—E. Q.

NOTE.—The foregoing was prepared for the *Standard* of last week, but did not arrive in season.

A MANLY PROTEST FROM AN IMPORTANT QUARTER.—Recently, a fraction of the free coloured people of Maryland, under the disguised lead of the Colonisationists, re-enacted the attempt made, some time since, in thiscity, to commit the free coloured population to the scheme of expatriation to the malarious and inhospitable shores of Africa. How this new attempt has failed, the following account of a Protest meeting in Baltimore, for which we are indebted to a correspondent there, will indicate in a way which cannot be otherwise than gratifying to the true friends of this down-trodden race—especially in view of the fact, shown by the papers, that the Colonisation party were backed by the applause of the Baltimore press and the whole power of its Police force; and this is a circumstance, by the way, well calculated to awake the suspicions of the coloured people, that the movement was one founded in and stimulated by that selfish prejudice against colour, on the part of the dominant race, which is the mainspring of the Colonisation Society's machinery:

☞ MEETING OF THE FREE COLOURED PEOPLE.—At a large meeting of the FREE COLOURED PEOPLE OF BALTIMORE, convened without respect to religious differences, and composed, in large part, of official and other prominent members of various churches, held at the Public School Room on East street, on Tuesday evening last, the following statement was submitted and adopted with but a single dissenting voice, and ordered to be published:

We have inquired into the character and doings of the late "Convention of Free People of Colour," claiming to be of the State of Maryland, held in the City of Baltimore, and which presented itself before the public as having derived its authority to convene from the Executive head of the State, and its authority to act from the free people of colour of the Counties, as well as of the city. Now we are not prepared to speak authoritatively for the coloured people of the counties, but we do know the sentiments of those of this city in reference to this "Convention."

As we understand, said "Convention" was gotten up by the following individuals, whom we find named in their publications, viz.: Darius Stokes, James T. Jackson, John Fortie, H. H. Webb, Daniel Koburn, James Handy, C. Perry, Frederick Harris, John H. Walker, Samuel D. Hutchins, David P. Jones, Wm. H. White, and a few others not so well known to us. This "Coloured Colonisation Society," as we see it also styled, consisted of a very few of our class. The proceedings of the meetings to get it up were known to but few of our people, hence the excitement amongst them when those proceedings became generally known. If it be asked, therefore, "How came it to pass that there was so much opposition on the part of our people? were not the Delegates 'claiming to represent the free colour in this city appointed by us?" Our answer is: No. *Nine-tenths of the coloured people knew nothing of what was being done in their name.*

We hope the good people of Baltimore will not infer from what we have said, that our opposition is founded in any new attempt to discourage voluntary Colonisation. *We are not opposed to emigration.* We only mean to say that the persons composing said "Convention" took advantage of our situation, and employed unathorized means in calling a "Convention of the Free People of Colour," dividing the city into numerous districts according to their own plans, and inviting strangers from the counties to help to "represent" us—all of which they did *without our consent.*

We should be pleased to see the members of this "Coloured Colonisation Society," or "Convention," embark for Liberia. The example of their *consistent action*, individually, would be worthy of imitation.

Had this "Society" confined its doings to its own sphere, and to its own members, we should have had nothing to say of it. But, as the case now stands, we feel called upon to solemnly repeat, for the information of all who desire the *truth*, as we now do in public meeting, that we did not, at any time, or in any manner, elect "delegates" to the so called "Coloured Colonisation Convention," held in the city of Baltimore on the 26th, 27th and 28th days of July; and we furthermore declare that we gave the said "delegates" no authority whatever to represent the feelings and wishes of our people. PHILIP SCOTT, President.

JAMES GRAY, Secretary.

Communications.

A NEW DISPENSATION.

[For the Standard.]

IT begins to be apparent that we have just entered upon a new dispensation in the religious history of our race; that a new revelation has been in fact made, and that this very age is a sacred age, with the annals of which profane history has properly nothing to do. There is, perhaps, a mistranslation in that passage near the close of the last revelation, which threatens a judgment upon him who should ever attempt "to add unto the words of the prophecy of that book," or else it is merely a *caveat* against *private* inspirations, not intending to deprive councils, senates and caucuses, and other bodies of *collective* human wisdom, of *their* right to be authoritative exponents of the divine will.

That we have already entered upon this new dispensation, there are many and various indications; but I have found it nowhere more explicitly and formally announced than in the solemn obituary speech of good General Cass, in the Senate, upon the demise of the sainted Henry Clay. Here is the passage as the telegraph saw fit to word and *capitalize* it: "*When we lay our hands upon His holy word and invoke His holy name, promising to be faithful to that Constitution, which He gave us in His mercy, and will withdraw only in the hour of our blindness and His own wrath.*"

The American Constitution, then, according to this high authority, is the special gift of God to this benighted people, to be withdrawn again if we should ever become unfortunately blind, or God unreasonably angry. Mr. Cass evidently did not mean the ideal constitution, in the sense in which Hooker claims for Law, that "Her seat is the bosom of God, and her voice the harmony of nature," nor even the literal and grammatical constitution, with its comparatively innocent phrases, but the actually executed and administered constitution, as interpreted by slaveholding judges for the last fifty years, the constitution of Judge Sprague and Commissioner McAllister, the whole law of which is fulfilled in this: *Thou shalt hate thy neighbour as the Devil, provided he is black.* Nor did the distinguished Senator intend to speak only of that general providence which permitted and sustained the human agency in the forming of the Constitution, as it does also the getters up of a military training company, or of a bar-room caucus. This idea would have been altogether too obvious and too tame to find a place in so impressive an address on so solemn an occasion. He evidently meant to say what the words express, that the Constitution came down from the hand of God, as actually, though not in the exact form, as the tables of stone given to Moses on the Mount, that it was an especial favour conferred upon the American people alone, as His chosen seed among the modern nations, it behooving them to watch very sharp, and execute the instrument very strictly, for fear it should be withdrawn.

Let, then, the American Constitution, and its whole contemporaneous history, be rescued from the sphere of secularity henceforth, and take its place, along with the commentaries upon it, from time to time, by slaveholding jurists, as well as the history of its execution, among the sacred literature of the world. Let the great political councils sitting quadrienially at Baltimore, become more famous than Trent or Constance, settle definitively which of these commentaries shall be admitted to the canon, and, appending to the whole, as a sort of summary or new covenant, the Compromise resolutions, the last Whig and Democratic platforms, hand over the complete volume to the Bible and Foreign Missionary Societies, to be used in completing the civilization and salvation of the world.

What is there absurd in this idea of a new dispensation? Has not truth ever been unfolded to mankind in successive folds and wrappages? If there could be a codicil to the Old Testament, or what was once called a New Testament, why may there not be a second codicil or a new will altogether, since the testator is alive? The probability is, that the effect of this new revelation will ultimately be to supplant the one last preceding it, which it seems to conflict with in many fundamental respects, and that, too, without any express provisions to that effect, just as a statute or a will, by its own force, repeals or revokes earlier ones repugnant to it.

One must not hastily reject the authority of this modern evangel, because of its apparent inconsistency with what came before it, or because it exhibits a fickleness in the divine methods. Mankind are a fickle and inconsistent race, and the dispensation must be adapted to their characters. There need be no occasion for conservative and easy souls to deprecate the revolutions and controversies, father divided against son, son against father, and all the martyrdoms and persecutions that usually accompany the transition from one form of religious culture to another. A wise providence has been for years preparing our country for the advent of the new gospel. When an assembled Senate decreed, three years ago, that there was *no higher law* than the Constitution, it showed that body already rejoicing under the light of the new dispensation, and the response of the nation to the statement indicated the new kingdom of Heaven nigh, even at the doors. Professor Stewart, Doctors Spring, Dewey, and others, have been like prophets of the latter-day glory, proclaiming its dawning and getting not very severely stoned for their pains. Many a church, with its clergy, vestry, corporate funds, creed, and house of worship, will be ready to pass, if they have not already passed, into the new order of things, without a regret for the antiquated faith of Christianity. Indeed, it would be startling even now to count noses among the most zealous factions of nominal Christians and find how completely their faith in the doctrines of the Gospel had been supplanted by the new heresy of the divine authorship of the American Government.

The new dispensation cannot be considered as yet sufficiently developed to come under the cognizance of history, but this much may, I think, be known of its prominent features. It is to be a dispensation of wrath. It will have its victims of the divine vengeance, not held up a great way off in hypothetical hells to the scenic exaggerations of which sinners have learned to accustom themselves, but exhibited in this world, a sphere of pre-ordained human suffering and wretchedness revolving withing the circle of ordinary human life. It will have its Jacob to love, and its Esau to hate. It will re-enact the ancient curse of Canaan and leave it no longer in doubt in which line the malediction against Ham was intended to descend. It will be a dispensation of exclusiveness. Again the experiment of a chosen seed, a peculiar people, will be tried, and the rest of mankind will be abandoned to their own destruction. This peculiar people will be the American nation, before whose manifest destiny the Canaanites of this continent will melt away or sink into hewers of wood and drawers of water.

The extravagant purpose of early Christianity, begotten of enthusiasm, of going forth to save the whole world, of preaching the gospel to every creature, of recognising the brotherhood of Boors and Negroes, will be abandoned as an impracticable fallacy. The experiment of saving the Gentiles was always a doubtful one, and the trial of it has been far from successful. Let us not, then, cling tenaciously to the obsolete ideas of Christianity, but follow the spirit of the age, and heed well the oracles of to-day. Christianity was a good thing in its day, but it must be seen that it was premature, and that the attempt to get it established has not resulted happily. In some modified form, it may come up ages hence, but for the present let us not regret it. It does not seem to be adapted to the successful administration of this priceless government, to the permanence of this glorious Union. It creates agitation, disturbs trade, and interrupts the normal intrigue of politics. What better evidence could we have of its impracticability.

The religious sects have already assailed it, setting up in its stead a kind of *Christianity South* to suit the exigencies of the times. But this is a mere expedient. The better mode would be to establish a *Union, Constitutional religion* at once, to be fostered by the State, upon the central idea so happily expressed by General Cass—the American Constitution, the especial gift and last revelation of God to man. Depend upon it, no solid peace can be had for this nation while the prophets and fanatics of a repealed Christianity are allowed to disturb the providential settlement of the Slavery question in 1850, the agency of Mr Clay in which, General Cass thinks, will be his chief claim to be admitted to Heaven. Let the Senate appoint commissioners to draw up a creed and ritual for a *national Union religion*, the majority of them slaveholders, of course, but not overlooking, in the selection, the rare merits of Gen. Cushing, Col. Webb and Capt. Rynders; and let a general council of Union clergymen digest and ratify the draft, and charge themselves with its due inauguration. Fine and imprisonment for the non-juring members and ministers, who should persist in using the repealed forms of faith and worship, would soon bring them to their senses, and great would be the prosperity of the new church, under the new dispensation. F.

NEW YORK, August 5th, 1852.

S. H. GAY, ESQ.—*Dear Sir:* May I be permitted to enquire how it is that the coloured people of this city do not protect the citizens of their own colour from abuse. I understand that a coloured lad, of about 14 years of age, was, on Monday last, sentenced to the States Prison for two years, merely for being present with another coloured man when a watch was stolen by the latter. This young lad *was not on trial for any crime*, as I understand, but merely retained as a witness, and yet the Judge, with a little brief authority, sends him TWO YEARS TO THE STATE PRISON. Will you please enquire into the matter, and oblige, yours,

A COLOURED MAN'S FRIEND.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE stated at the Framingham meeting that among others affected by 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' was Mr. Rufus Choate, who, notwithstanding his desire not to acknowledge its touching narrative, could not help shedding tears—iron tears they might be—over its perusal, although he gave evidence of his old nature, by exclaiming, as he threw it down—"This book will make two millions of Abolitionists beside the ruffscuffs we have already."—*Essex Freeman.*

Miscellaneous News.

West India Emancipation Celebration.

FULLY five hundred ladies and gentlemen took the cars Tuesday morning for Framingham Grove—a most charming spot—to commemorate the Fourteenth Anniversary of the emancipation of the Slaves of the West India Islands. The day was one of unusual salubrity. A cool, bracing atmosphere and bright sun, contributed to the pleasure of the company, many of them coloured, who, in their neatest attire and with the happiest countenances, participated in the festivities. At half past 10 o'clock, the train for Worcester and way stations arrived, bringing nearly as many friends of the emancipation cause. There were upwards of two thousand persons in attendance.

At quarter before 11, the assembly was called to order by Francis Jackson, Esq., of Boston, when Wm. Lloyd Garrison was called to preside, and the usual number of Vice Presidents and Secretaries were appointed.

Mr. Garrison, on taking the platform, indulged in congratulatory remarks pertinent to the occasion. The joy this day prevailing in the West India isles was worthy of the bosom of angels. No event in history is like it. It was a nation born in a day—springing, as it were, from death to life. It was a great event for our fathers to declare themselves independent—but they suffered nothing, they were not slaves, compared with the dwellers of the West Indies. The liberation of the Israelites from the oppression of Pharaoh, by the crossing of the Red Sea, imparted not such joy as did the freedom of the blacks of the West Indies, so unexpected and so auspicious was that event.

A 'Jubilee Song' followed, in which the whole company united.

Mr. Garrison then remarked that the platform was no Baltimore platform—one of infamous decress and impious compromises—but one of Freedom—Freedom's own platform, and it was ready for occupancy by any who chose to take it.

Mr. G. W. F. Mellen, of Boston, promptly responded, alluding to the happy auspices of the day, and following with a poem on the Compromise, which he recited with considerable effect.

Mr. Garrison, remarking that he regretted the day's celebration was not one in commemoration of American liberation as well as of West Indian, yet rejoiced that what we celebrated was won by British philanthropy, prominent among the labourers in which were the people of Scotland; and he would therefore introduce one of that people, who had come to reside among us—he referred to Mr. John C. Cluer, of Boston.

Mr. Cluer, in the course of a spirited speech, referred with pride to the part which the operatives in his native land took in the abolition of the colonial slave system, notwithstanding their own destitution; for it was not the aristocracy of England who secured the liberation of the West Indian slaves, but the great mass of the common people, who had forced the matter through. But he held with Geo. Thompson, that to pay for those eight hundred thousand slaves was a wrong, a grievous wrong—the paying for stolen property taking from the robber. He also remarked that he was at the battle of Lundy's lane, which was not much of an affair after all. He knew something of Gen. Pierce likewise, and it would be as well, he thought, to set up an animalized pine-tree for President as he. If those who were famed in killing were to be the Presidential candidates, we had better send to Smithfield, and secure there such butchers as we desired.

Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem, followed, saying the Anti-Slavery cause which was represented here to-day was allied to the best interests of our country. Every one in the country should have an interest in it. If we would maintain our manhood, we should become Abolitionists. It was gratifying to him that the slave system of our country bends, humbles and degrades other men than the poor despised black man. There were men in our public councils as degraded and debased as those flying fugitives who seek a shelter in Canada. There was no more menial slave in all our land than Daniel Webster at this moment. Edward Everett and Rufus Choate,

world, also, taught us there was a growing Anti-Slavery sentiment among the mass of the people. The vote for Mr. Webster in the Baltimore Convention gave evidence of this, and other indications were equally conclusive.

In a review of the difficulties which impeded the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, Mr. P. remarked that if Boston thought that to-morrow it could make money by the abolition of Slavery, it would do so. It is this great pecuniary consideration which, in part, overshadows our work. Along with this, was the faltering of our public men in their course of duty. Parties had made great professions, and in their practice fallen far short of their promises. The Whig party was a signal instance of this; and he regretted to say, some of the leaders of the Free Soil organization had not done what was expected of them. In this connection, the recent attempted speech of Charles Sumner was cited, and, though still expressing confidence in Mr. Sumner, and his purpose to do his duty, yet he felt he had yielded to the South what he never should have allowed. He had long been convinced that seven-tenths of the leaders of any party would prove faithless, while seven-tenths of the people would remain steadfast. But, whatever might be the course of parties, or the action of individuals, our duty was clear—to labour on for the emancipation of the slave population of our land, rejoicing at last on our own occasion of jubilee.

Remarks followed from Messrs. Garrison, Parker, Remond, Burleigh, and Rand, of Milton upon, the condition of the coloured population of the West Indies in connection with the exports of those islands before and since the act of liberation.

'Freedom's Summons,' a song by the 'Lynn Bard,' followed from the whole company, when, at 1 1-2 o'clock, there was a cessation of the addresses till 3 o'clock.

At the appointed hour in the afternoon, there were assembled at least fifteen hundred people, when the exercises were opened by the spirited recitation, by Mr. Garrison, of the following admirable original composition:

THE SLAVE-CATCHER.

BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

TUNE—'*Scots wha hae.*'

Children of the Pilgrim flock!
Off-shoots from the Pilgrim stock,
Planted first on Plymouth rock,
By the surging main!
When upon that shore they dwelt,
When upon that rock they knelt,
Would those men have *lived*, and felt
Slavery's galling chain?

When they all were kneeling there,
When the incense of their prayer
Rose upon the frosty air—
From a wigwam's shade
Had they heard the savage call,
'Hunt us down you fleeing thrall!
Seize and hold him, each and all!'
Would they have obeyed?

Had they done it, would they dare
Kneel again, and breathe a prayer
To the God they worshipped there?
Had they prayed, would HE,
Who their steps had thither led,
Who his guardian wing had spread
Over their defenceless head,
On the wintry sea—

His all-gracious ear have bowed?
Had they called on Him aloud,
Would the column and the cloud,
Once to Israel given,
Have descended, as their guide
Through those forests, dark and wide,
Where to thee, O God, they cried,
And were heard of Heaven?

Hark! that savage call *we* hear!
Now 'tis ringing in our ear!
See! the panting thrall is near!
Shall *we* play the hound?
Shall *we* join the unleashed pack,
Yelping on a brother's track?
Shall *we* seize and drag him back,
Fainting, bleeding, bound?

Yes—when we're in love with chains!
Yes—when, in our dastard veins,
Not a drop of blood remains
From those Pilgrim men!
Yes—when we our backs shall strip,
That what blood we have may drip
For the lordlings of the whip—
Then, and not till then!

Another ode, entitled 'Right On!' to the tune of 'Lenox,' was then sung in concert, when

Dr. Farrar, of Maine, was introduced, who indulged in personal reminiscences, and said, among other things, he believed the time was coming when the honest Southerner, in view of the great act of emancipation that then had taken place, would stretch his arms across Mason and Dixon's line, to grasp the hand of William Lloyd Garrison, or his representative, to congratulate him for the brave and hearty words he had spoken in behalf of the great cause. He believed, also, that there was soon to be a great change even in the public sentiment of the South, and Slavery would be aided in its overthrow by five-sixths of the white population who were non-slaveholders.

Mr. Garrison followed, and read extracts, with appropriate comments, from published accounts of the success of emancipation in the West Indies.

John C. Wyman, of Dedham, was the next speaker, discussing the probability of any cessation of the agitation upon the slave question, and quoting with effect the prior declarations of Webster and others upon the necessity of agitation for moral and political purposes. Agitation gave independence to our country, and agitation would yet secure the emancipation of the coloured race in our midst. In the course of his remarks, he paid a deserved tribute to the fearlessness of Joshua R. Giddings, who had boldly declared he *meant* to agitate, and told his slaveholding auditors to do what they could to oppose him.

James Freeman Clark followed, and alluded to the former custom of all who were about to utter a peculiarly pro-slavery sentiment to say, 'We are as much opposed to Slavery as any one,' though they made the remark to cover the final extermination of any really earnest conviction that might be felt on the subject. What is the present position of these same individuals? They were opposed to all Anti-Slavery action. He did not know but that it was God's providence thus to rid the Anti-Slavery cause of its hindrances, that it might the sooner work out its destiny. The times were ripe for Anti-Slavery discussion. Among the most unexpected aids that had come to the cause—as though God's own hand had directed it—was the book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was exerting an untold influence upon the nation. That book, he believed, was an inspired one. Mr. C. gave some details as to the conception of this work, and the effect it was having upon different individuals. Among others who were deeply affected, was Mr. Rufus Choate, who, notwithstanding his desire not to acknowledge its touching narrative, yet could not help shedding tears—iron tears they might be—over its perusal, although he gave evidence of his old nature, by exclaiming, as he threw it down—'This book will make two millions of Abolitionists, beside the ruffscuffs we have already'

Mr. Clark continued by giving numerous interesting instances of the social position of coloured men, who had risen from servitude to honour and affluence, and concluded with the expression of opinion that there was now a strong desire for union among those who viewed the system of Slavery as a sin, and a great social evil—an incentive to which should be the encouragement of all, with less personal crimination and censure, whatever their creed or standing, who were willing to labour for their common end.

Mr. Remond took exception to that portion of the remarks of the preceding speaker, in compliment to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, stating that it was a work of inspiration, if ever there was an inspired work—as related to the chapter upon Colonisation. For himself, he very much doubted if such sentiments as were in that chapter came from above. He believed that all that was pure and good in the world came from God; and that all that was evil from the Devil, and of the latter only he regarded the Colonisation scheme. He argued, in continuation, that emancipation would be the source of immense wealth to New England, by the creation of a new commerce from the wants and necessities of the three millions of people thus elevated to their ownership, and in this view worthy of consideration.

Edmund Quincy defended the uncompromising course of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and contended that its severe criticisms of public men had contributed to their present eminent Anti-Slavery position. It had been faithful to the derelictions of Joshua R. Giddings and Cassius M. Clay, in times past, and he believed it had been for their present advantage to have realized that the Abolitionists were watchful of their course So in regard to Mr. Sumner. By faithful testimony against his lukewarmness and timidity would the cause of the slave be advanced.

Stephen S. Foster was the next speaker, and argued it to be the duty of all Abolitionists to withdraw themselves entirely from contact with the slave-sympathizing Whig and Democratic parties, to denounce them as consummate scoundrels so long as they willingly stood upon a platform which endorsed negro-hunting. For himself, twelve months should not pass over *his* head without his giving full evidence to his Whig and Democratic neighbours how he regarded their damnable position; and it was the duty of every man thus to act—to imagine himself and his mother as the objects which that law, which was the foundation of the Whig and Democratic platforms, hunted from their homes—and to regard every man who accepted that platform as one willing to engage in such hunt.

Rev. Mr. Foss, of Concord, N. H., was proceeding to give an account of the meeting at New Boston, N. H., where Gen. Pierce said he loathed the Fugitive Slave Law (as he himself could testify he did say), when the signal was given that the cars were in readiness to convey the party to Boston and elsewhere.

At 5 1-2 o'clock, therefore, the meeting was abruptly terminated, everything having passed off in a harmonious manner, and with a degree of enthusiasm and determination which would seem to mark a new enterprise, rather than one of over twenty years' duration. Indeed, the occasion was one of significant importance. —*Liberator.*

DEATH OF HON. ROBERT RANTOUL, JR.

We are sincerely sorry to have to announce to our readers the death of the Hon. Robert Rantoul, one of the Representatives from the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Rantoul was in his seat in the House on Tuesday last, 3d instant. At that time he appeared to be in usual health, with the exception of what he considered to be a small bile upon his forehead. On Wednesday morning, the little sore was surrounded by erysipelatious inflamation, in consequence of which he was prevailed upon to remain in his room and procure medical advice. Thursday, the disease seemed to be entirely arrested, and on Friday morning he felt very much better, and spoke confidently of returning in a day or two to his duties in the House. On Friday evening he became much worse; the erysipelas spread over the entire face, and his brain was evidently affected. On Saturday evening the left side became paralytic, after which he sank rapidly, and expired at about half past 10 o'clock, P. M. Mr. Rantoul was forty-seven years of age. At the desire of Mrs. Rantoul (who, having notice of his illness, arrived in Washington on Saturday morning), the remains of the deceased were taken to Beverly (Mass.), Mr. Rantoul's late residence, on the four o'clock railroad train of Monday, the Speaker of the House having designated Mr. Duncan and Mr. Goodrich, of Massachusetts, Mr. Cleveland, of Connecticut, and Mr. Eastman, of Wisconsin, to constitute the escort.

In the Senate, on Monday, a message was received from the House, announcing the death of Mr. Rantoul, whereupon,

Mr. SUMNER rose and said: By formal message of the House of Representatives, we now learn that one of our associates in public councils has died. Only a few brief days, I had almost said hours, have passed since he was in his accustomed seat, now he is gone from us forever. He was my colleague and friend, and yet so sudden has been this change, that no tidings of his illness even had reached me, before I learned that he was already beyond the reach of mortal aid or consolation, and that the shadows of the grave had already descended upon him. He died here in Washington, late on Saturday evening, August 7, and his earthly remains, accompanied by the bereaved companion of his life, with a Committee of the other House, are now far on the way to Massachusetts, there to mingle, dust with dust, with his native soil. The occasion does not permit me to speak at length of the character or services of Mr. Rantoul. A few words will suffice, nor will the language of eulogy be required. He was born August 13, 1805, at Beverly, in the County of Essex, the home of Nathan Dane, author of the immortal ordinance by which freedom was made a perpetual heir-loom in the broad region of the North-West. There, under happy auspices of family and neighbourhood, he exercised life; there his excellent father, honoured for his public services, venerable also with years and flowing silver locks, yet lives to mourn his last surviving son. The sad fortune of Burke is renewed. He who should have been as posterity, is now to this Father in the place of Ancestry. Mr. Rantoul was early a Member of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and there won his first fame. For many years he occupied a place in the Board of Education in that State. He was also for a time Collector of the port of Boston, and afterwards Attorney of the United States, for Massachusetts; during a brief period he held a seat in this body, and finally, in 1851, by the choice of his native District, remarkable for its intelligence and public spirit, he became a Representative in the other branch of the National Legislature. In all these spheres he performed most acceptable service, and the future promised opportunities of a higher character, to which his abilities, industry and fidelity, would have amply responded. Massachusetts has many arrows in her well-stocked quiver, but few could she so ill spare at this moment as the servant we now mourn. By original fitness, by study, knowledge and experience he was formed for public service, but he was no stranger to other pursuits. Early devoted to the profession of the Law, he followed it with assiduity and success; in the antiquities of our jurisprudence, few were more learned; his arguments at the bar were thorough; nor was his intellectual promptness in all emergencies of a trial easily surpassed. Literature—neglected by many under the pressure of professional life—was always cultivated by him His taste for books was enduring—he was a constant student. Amidst his manifold labours, professional and public, he cherished the honourable aspiration of adding to the historical productions of his country. A work on the history of France, wherein the annals and character of that great nation should be portrayed by an American, had occupied much of his thoughts. I know not if any part was ever matured for publication.

The practice of the law, while it sharpens the intellect, is too apt to cramp the faculties within the narrow limits of form, and to restrain the genial currents of the soul. It had no such influence on him. He was a Reformer—in the warfare with evil he enlisted early and openly as a soldier for life. As such he did not hesitate to encounter opposition, to fear obloquy, and to brave enmity. His conscience, pure as goodness, sustained him in every trial, even that sharpest of all—the desertion of friends; and yet, while warmest in his cause, his zeal was tempered beyond that of the common reformer. He knew well the difference between the ideal and the actual, and sought by practical means, in harmony with the existing public sentiment, to promote the interest which he had at heart. He saw clearly that reform could not prevail at once, in an hour, or a day; but that it would be the slow and certain result of constant labour, testimony and faith; determined and tranquil in his own convictions, he had the grace to respect the convictions of others. Recognising in the social and political system, the essential elements of stability and progress, he discerned at once the office of the conservative and the reformer; but he saw also that a blind conservatism was not less destructive than a blind reform. By the mingled caution, moderation, and earnestness of his labours, he seemed often to blend two characters in one, and to be at the same time a Reforming Conservative, and a Conservative Reformer. I might speak of his devotion to public improvements of all kinds—particularly to the system of railroads, but here he was on the popular side—there were other causes where his struggle was keener and more meritorious, at a moment when his services were much needed. He was the faithful supporter of Common Schools, the peculiar glory of New England. By word and example he sustained the cause of temperance. Some of his most devoted labours, commencing in the Legislature of Massachusetts, were for the abolition of Capital Punishment—perhaps no person, since that consummate jurist, Edward Livingston, has done so much, by reports, articles, letters, and speeches, to commend this reform to the country—with its final triumph, in the progress of civilization, his name will be indissolubly connected.

There is another cause which of late occupied his best faculties, and to which, had life been spared, he would have given the neutrality of his powers But I am forbidden by the occasion to name it here. See, in the long line of portraits on the walls of the ducal palace of Venice, commemorating its Doges, a single panel, where a portrait should have been, shrouded by a dark curtain; but this darkened blank in that place, attracts the beholder more than any picture. Let such a curtain fall to-day upon this theme.

In becoming harmony with these noble causes was the purity of his private life—here he was blameless. In manners he was modest, simple, and retiring; in conversation he was disposed to listen rather than to speak, though all were pleased when he broke silence, and in apt language declared his glowing thoughts. But in the public assembly, before the people, or in the Legislative Hall, he was bold and triumphant. As a debater he rarely met his equal. Fluent, earnest, rapid, incisive, his words at times came forth like a flashing scimetar—few could stand against him. He always understood his subject, and then, clear, logical, and determined, seeing his point before him, pressed forward with unrelenting power. His speeches on formal occasions were enriched by study, and contain passages of beauty.

But he was most truly at home in dealing with practical questions, arising from the exigencies of life. Few had studied public affairs more minutely or intelligibly. As a constant and effective member of the Democratic party, he had become conspicuous by championship of its doctrines in the currency and free trade. These he often discussed, but there was no topic within the wide range of our national concerns which did not occupy his thoughts. The resources and needs of the North-west were all known to him, and Western interests were near his heart. As the distant pioneer, resting from his daily labours, learns the death of Rantoul, he will feel a personal grief; the fishermen opposite on the Eastern coast, many of whom are dwellers in his district, will sympathize with the pioneer. As these hardy children of the sea, returning in their small craft, from their late adventures, hear the sad tidings, they, too, will feel that they have lost a friend, and well they may During his last fitful hours of life, while reason still struggled against diseases, he was anxious for their welfare. The speech which in their behalf he had hoped soon to make on the floor of Congress was then chasing through his mind; finally, in broken utterances, he gave to them some of his last earthly thoughts.

The death of such a man so suddenly, in mid career, is well calculated to arrest attention and to furnish admonition. From the love of family, the attachment of friends, and the regard of fellow-citizens, he has been removed. Leaving behind him the cares of life, the concerns of State, and the wretched strifes of party, he has ascended to those mansions where there is no strife, or concern, or care At last he stands face to face in His presence whose service is perfect freedom. He has gone before. You and I, Sir, and all of us, must follow soon. God grant that we may go with equal consciousness of duty done. He offered the usual resolutions, which were adopted, and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, Monday, Aug 9.

Mr. MANN announced the death of Hon. Robert RANTOUL, Jr., late a member of the House from Massachusetts. He died on Saturday night, of erysipelas. The illness was brief, he having been in his seat on Tuesday last. His wife reached the city on the morning of the day on which he breathed his last, and yesterday returned with his remains to Massachusetts. The deceased was born in that State, and, had he lived till next Friday, would have been 47 years of age.

Mr. Mann spoke eloquently of the sad event, portraying the many virtues and accomplishments of his late colleague, summing up by saying he was "an honest man, the noblest work of God;" offered resolutions expressing the deep sensibility with which the house has heard the sad intelligence of Mr. Rantoul's death, tendering to his family the sympathy entertained for their loss, resolving to wear crape on the left arm for twenty days; and, as a further mark of respect, that the House adjourn.

Mr. FOWLER made a few eloquent remarks on the occasion, and concluded by offering another resolution, providing for defraying the expenses of the funeral.

Messrs. MCLANAHAN, MACK, and CLARK, severally bore their tribute of respect, reminding their fellow-members to be admonished of their responsibility by this solemn and impressive dispensation. The House adjourned.

FOREIGN NEWS.

ENGLAND.

The elections are now over with the exception of five vacancies still to be filled, namely, Orkney and Wick, in Scotland, and Tyrone and Donegal, in Ireland. It is, even with the returns before us, a difficult matter to foretell what majority—for majority they will have—the Derby Ministry are able to command in the House. The classified lists, published by the leading papers, differ so widely, that they can be regarded only a mere approximation to truth; and the terms "Ministerial" and "Opposition," in the present contest, embrace so many shades of political opinion, that we cannot indicate with an approach to certainty the numerical force, or any division that would involve the fate of the Government. The *Globe* sets down the number: Liberals, 229, Derby-Disraelites 289, doubtful 36. The *Morning Chronicle* Ministerials 290, Whigs and more advanced Liberals 310, Liberal-Conservatives, or Peelites, between 50 and 60. The *Shipping Gazette* (from the *Times*) gives the following estimate which is probably as nearly accurate as may be:

	Ministerialists.	*Opposition.*	*Total.*
England and Wales	273	223	496
Scotland	20	31	51
Ireland	32	47	79
Members returned	325	301	626

It is again rumoured that changes are about to be made in the Foreign Office. Lord Malmesbury will, it is said, succeed Lord Cowley at Paris, the latter going to Constantinople, and the portfolio of Foreign Affairs will then be confided to Lord Canning, better known as Sir Stratford Canning.

The *Sun* says: There has been quite an influx of our transatlantic brethren of literature and the drama in London the present season. Among the late arrivals are Mrs. Edwin Forrest, Miss Cushman, Mrs. Abbott, Mrs. J. S. Silsbee, Miss Grace Greenwood, the authoress; Mr. Buchanan, the tragedian; Mr. Owens, lessee of the Baltimore Museum; Mr. Howard Paul, the dramatist; J. Hall Wilton, Mr. Barnum's theatrical director, who engaged Mddle. Jenny Lind on her American tour.

ELECTION RIOTS IN IRELAND.

In Ireland, Deplorable scenes have taken place at the election in County Clare, South of Ireland. The military were called out, and several lives sacrificed. On Thursday, polling took place for Sir. J. F. Fitzgerald, Cornelius O'Brien, and Col. Vandeleur, at Sixmile Bridge, about seven miles from Limerick, when a riot arose between the voters on the respective sides. No clear statement of the affray can be had, but the most probable version of the story is, that the country people threw stones at a party of Lord Conyngham's tenants, who were proceeding to the polls under an escort of military, and that some of the missiles striking the soldiers, they fired a volley among the crowd, and killed five men on the spot, besides wounding five or six others—three mortally. Twelve shots were fired by the soldiers, and all took effect. It is asserted that no orders were given to fire. A jury has been empannelled, but, at latest accounts, had not returned a verdict.

Most of the Irish provincial papers that have come to hand teem with accounts of election outrages. At Ballina, the police had to charge the crowd with the bayonet.

At Roscommon, and elsewhere, the same disturbances took place, fomented in most instances, it is said, by the priests The outrages are much regretted by the moderate men of all parties.

FRANCE.

It transpires that new titles of nobility continue to be conferred, without any public announcement of them. The *Patrie* has taken to styling the President "His Highness Monseigneur the Prince-President," but all the opposition papers omit this handle to his name. Nevertheless, these straws are taken as an indication that the wind again sets in an imperial direction. An additional subject of gossip is found in the approaching *fête* on the 15th August, the birthday of the Emperor, on which occasion as many reminiscences of the Empire as can be will be revived. One of the most impressive parts of the ceremonial was to have been the inauguration of Napoleon's tomb in the Invalides, but the works cannot be completed in season.

M. Armand Bertin, proprietor and editor of the *Debats*, was sent for, the other day, by the Minister of Police, and reprimanded for having announced the changes about to take place in the Ministry. The Minister did not deny the accuracy of the statements, but declared that Government would not permit the Press to announce any changes in the Cabinet till the official decree had appeared.

M. Lemayne, formerly French Consul at Alexandria, Egypt, is appointed Consul-General and Charge de Affairs of France at Buenos Ayres.

The approaching marriage of the President is regarded in Paris as a fact beyond doubt. The lady, however, is now said not to be the Princess de Vara, but another Baden Princess, grand-daughter of Eugene Beharnais and of Don Pedro. The lady is now undergoing the process of conversion from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic religion, in order to render her a suitable match.

Some political arrests were made at Strasburg, during the President's visit Among them was a Mr. Genin, who was said to be cognizant of a plot of some kind hatched by three men from Algeria, who have also fallen into the hands of the police.

SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

The Academy of Sciences in Stockholm has lost the oldest of its members, in the person of Mr. Wilhelm Hissingler, the Mineralogist, who has died at the age of 89. Norway has also been deprived of one of her most learned historians, Dr. Nils Wulfsberg, aged 67. Dr. Wulfsberg was formerly keeper of the Archives of the kingdom, and founded two of the earliest daily papers ever published, the *Morgenbladet* and the *Tidet*, both of which still exist.

The first volume of a new work on America has just left the press in Stockholm. It is named "Sketches of a Tour in the United States," by P. A. Siljestrom, and is entirely devoted to an examination of our School System. Mr. Siljestrom was sent out by the Swedish Government to make inquiries on this subject, and the present work of 500 pages 8vo. is the result.

GERMANY.

It is reported that the Hanoverian Ministry has resigned and that a cabinet of a more "equestrian" caste will succeed, which will adhere on the Commercial and Customs question to the commercial views of the Prussian Liberals.

At Cassel, the Minister of Finance, on the 20th, announced to the Second Chamber the financial state of the country, viz.: that there was a deficit of three to four millions of thalers. It is expected that so soon as the Government has procured the vote of a quarter of a million sterling for "the expensus of restoring Federal and Constitutional order in the Electorate," the Chambers will be again prorogued.

The Frankfort Diet has voted £8,500 to the inventors of gun cotton.

Throughout the Duchy of Saxe Weimar the crops are extremely abundant.

THE HENRY CLAY.

W. H. LAWRENCE, the Coroner of the late Inquest on the bodies of those lost by the burning of the Henry Clay, has addressed a letter to the *Courier and Enquirer*, in which he says:

My duties have indeed been of a most painful and arduous nature, and I trust in God that a long time may elapse before it shall be necessary for any Coroner to inquire into the circumstances attending a similar calamity. In justice to my Counsel, WM. W. SCRUGHAM, Esq., of this place (late District Attorney), I feel it incumbent on me to say, that the investigation was conducted strictly in accordance with his directions, and the examinations of all the witnesses were made by him, for me, and in my presence, and if any credit is due for the proper management of the case, he alone is entitled to it; especially as he laid aside all the other business to see that this inquest should be properly and thoroughly made. I notice that one of the papers censures me for not issuing warrants for the arrest of the accused persons, and attributes my not having immediately done so, to a disposition to avoid the trouble attendant upon their examination. I am quite certain no one who was present during the late investigation can believe this charge. The statute, it is true, gives the Coroner *power* to issue these warrants, but it does not make it *incumbent* upon him to do so; and the reason why I have delayed exercising this power is, that I might be advised by the District Attorney, whether he desires the accused to be brought before me or before the County Judge—an officer equally authorized to issue the warrants, of a higher judicial character than the Coroner, and much more competent to take the examinations.

Notice of the Inquest has been given to the District Attorney, and if he prefers that the warrants be issued by me, they will certainly be delivered to the proper officers immediately.

One of the bodies buried at Yonkers (that numbered "2" of bodies unclaimed), was yesterday identified as that of Wm. McClusky, and another, No 8, that of Miss Smith, sister of Mrs. Hill of Philadelphia, who was with her in company with J. J. Speed, Esq. A rumour prevails that a number of bodies were buried here, of which no description has been given, which is entirely without truth, as no unclaimed bodies were buried at Yonkers, but those numbered 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, of which full descriptions have been given in almost every paper in New York. I cannot give too much credit to the Jurors, for the patience exhibited in the performance of their exceedingly unpleasant duty, nor to Messrs. Lawrence Post, Jr., Joseph Moore, John Kniffen, and others at Yonkers, for the assistance they rendered me in grappling for and recovering numerous bodies from the water. To James R. Whiting, Esq., I am also under much obligation for his assistance and advice on the empanelling of the Jury, and throughout the inquest; and for the liberal pecuniary aid he rendered to such of the friends of the deceased as were in indigent circumstances. With much respect,

I am your obedient servant,
WM. H. LAWRENCE, Coroner.

YONKERS, Aug. 5.

The following is the verdict found by the Jury:

VERDICT.

That on the 28th July, A. D., 1852, while the persons described as having been found dead by the Coroner and Jury at Yonkers, were passengers on board of the Henry Clay, she took fire and was run upon the shore, and there consumed. That K. Simons, one of the passengers, was burned to death, and that all the other persons, either by reason of the shock, occasioned by the collision of the boat on the land, were thrown overboard, or that, in order to save themselves from being burned, they cast themselves overboard, then and there suffocated and drowned in the Hudson River, of which suffocation and drowning they died; that on this day, about 7 o'clock A. M., the Henry Clay left Albany, to convey passengers on the Hudson River; that John F. Tallman was Captain, and one of the owners, James L. Jessup was Clerk, Ed. Hubbard the 1st pilot, James Elmendorf was the 2d pilot, John Germaine was the engineer, Charles Merritt, assistant engineer; and that a certain young man, whose name is unknown to the Jury, but who was employed to attend bar on said steamer; and that they were all on board, and had each of them part of the charge of said steamer, and that after leaving Albany on that day, and while the steamer was navigating the Hudson river in this State, and while engaged in the conveyance of passengers, the parties named, for the purpose of excelling in speed a certain steamer, called the Armenia, or for the purpose of increasing the speed of the Henry Clay, did create, or allow to be created, an undue or unsafe quantity of steam, and in so doing did make, or allow to be made, excessive fires, and did not use ordinary prudence in the management of said fires. And although often being remonstrated with by different passengers, they did for a long time continue the excessive fires, and in consequence thereof, and through their *culpable negligence and criminal recklessness the Henry Clay* did, at about 15 minutes after 3 o'clock, take fire, and all of the deaths ensued as aforesaid, and so the Jurors say, that the deaths of all the said persons, and each of them, was the result of an act perpetrated by the said John F. Tallman, Thomas Collyer, James L. Jessup, James Elmendorf, Edward Hubbard, John Germain, Charles Merritt, and the said barkeeper, which act was imminently dangerous to others, and evinced a depraved mind, regardless of human life although it was perpetrated without any premeditated design, to effect the death of any particular individual.

The following preamble and resolution was offered and signed by the jury, at which time they adjourned *sine die*:

Whereas, The Jury have now concluded their anxious duties to the investigation respecting the late fatal calamity to the steamboat Henry Clay, we desire to express our thanks to the President and Directors, Superintendent, Conductors and Attaches of the Hudson River Railroad; therefore:

Resolved, That a vote of thanks be tendered to the Company and Officers, for their kind and humane acts in aiding the bereaved relatives and friends of the unfortunate victims of the disaster in searching for the bodies. Their offices, depots and trains, have all been at the service of the public, free of charge, for which they are entitled to the thanks of the entire community. (Signed) BY THE JURY.

The Jury make the following statement of the bodies found:

Bodies recognised by names	49
Unrecognised bodies at Yonkers	7
The bodies found in the waters of New York	9
The bodies found on the Jersy shore	3
Mrs. Wadsworth, Mrs. Bartlett, } Not named in the list of Coroner's Lawrence's Inquests	2
Grand total of dead bodies recovered	70

LIST OF PASSENGERS MISSING.

1. Wm. B. Tuman, aged 15, No. 96 Mott street
2. Henry Chatillon, aged 14 months,
3. Bessie Williams, coloured woman, Poughkeepsie.
4. Catharine Whitmore, New York.
5. Mrs. Ostrander, New York.
6. Isaac Sherman. New York.
7. Miss. Eliza Smith, Philadelphia.
8. Mrs. Geo. Bell, Alexandria, Va.
9. Mrs. Crawford, Ypsilanti, Mich., aged 27.
10. Ransom Bottoms, a young man aged 22, from Newton Corner, near Albany.
11. Thomas Lemon, Albany, aged 35.

All the officers of the boat including Mr. Collyer, have been arrested on warrants issued from the U. S. Circuit Court, and they have been held to bail in $10,000 each to answer to the charge of manslaughter.

BUTLER TO CHASE.—Mr. Benjamin F. Butler has replied to Senator Chase through the *Evening Post*. It is a laboured document, characteristic of the partizan, but not very creditable to the advocate. As an emanation of Free Soil Democracy, it is compounded of the jesuit and the puritan, and presents as many fronts as the various and conflicting influences it was designed to propitiate, and is altogether worthy the author of the letters from Sandy Hill. It occupies five of the elaborate columns of the *Post*. Reduced to the consistency of plain sense and a reasonable summary, it should make about five paragraphs. Thus:

1. Mr. Chase is a Free Soil Democrat. So is Mr. Butler. Both were at Buffalo. Both helped build the platform. The planks were all right then. Some have since been dispensed with by subsequent events. The remainder may be preserved by electing Pierce and King. They are Democrats. The original principles of Democracy are identified with freedom and progress. Whig principles are marked by devotion to property rather than to the rights of man.

2. Mr. Chase is right in rejecting the Slavery resolutions of the Baltimore Convention that nominated Pierce and King. Substantially he expresses Mr. Butler's own convictions. Put Mr. B. finds even higher reasons than their repugnance to the Buffalo platform. They abridge the Constitutional right of discussion and conflict with that other plank of Baltimore, the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of '98.

3. Nevertheless, Mr. Butler, seeking how best to promote the great interest at stake—and among them he "includes what yet remains unaccomplished of the measures enumerated at Buffalo"—has resolved to go for Pierce and King. In the first place, to rescue the National Spoils from the Whigs. These, he says, are growing by reason of the tide of prosperity setting in upon the country, and he deems it "all-important to prevent such a catastrophe" as their continuance in Whig hands. A Whig President is likely to sway Congress, even with a nominally Democratic majority in each House. He knows Pierce and King to be the men to bring back the Administration to what "*You*, Mr. Chase, *and I*, Mr. Butler, *desire to see predominant*." In the second place, State Spoils must be looked to. "The condition and interests of New York had much to do with my (his) decision." He is unwilling to contribute in any degree, however slight, to Whig success here. Opposition to Pierce by the Free Soil Democrats of New York would give aid and comfort to that party. "And such aid and comfort, *I*, Mr. Butler, could not consistently with *my* sense of duty, as the matter (spoils) appeared to *me*, by any means extend!"

4. Just here it occurs to Mr. Butler that his friend, Mr. Chase, may "think that there is marked inconsistency" in all this, in view of the Buffalo professions. But the case, he says, from its very nature, is one "of conscience," not a question of "fact or science, *but of prudence and morality*, referring itself to the private judgment of two individuals!"

Each is bound fairly to consider the argument of the other; but as the decision of each must be upon his own responsibility, each, as an honest man, is bound to abide by his own matured convictions.

And the matured convictions of honest Mr. Butler are, that the spoils should be first cared for and principles afterwards.

5. Action on the Fugitive Slave Law was not a Buffalo plank. It may be adjourned till after the election. Then, Mr. Pierce, elected by the help of the Free Soil Democracy, Mr. Butler "should hope" would approve of any bill conforming to their views, on conditions suggested, relating to Slavery in the District and the Fugitive law. Like Mr. Chase, he understands Pierce as disapproving agitation *now*, but he does not understand him as committed, *when President*, to veto any bill on the subject. If he should, the party will be taught better in 1856, and "four years in the history of a nation, is but as four days in the life of a man."

We should like, if we had the space this morning, to contrast this most tame and lame conclusion with the fierce indignation and fiery appeals of this same Mr. Butler in 1848. We have now before us a Circular bearing his signature as Chairman of a Free Soil Corresponding Committee. It is a model of Anti-Slavery and non-compromising zeal, abounding in virtuous devotion to free speech, free soil, and free men, and marked in its support of Mr. Van Buren by all the conscience and morality which the distinguished writer now marshals to the rescue of Pierce and King.—*New York Daily Times.*

HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS has been re-nominated for Congress by county Free Soil meetings in Lake and Ashtabula, held for the purpose of sending delegates to Pittsburg. We trust the faithful old man will be returned by a large majority.

A PICTURE FROM SPAIN.—The Governor of Madrid has just issued a memorandum of the facts on which he proposes to institute a reform of the hospitals of that capital, in which he draws the following picture of their present condition He declares that the provisions served out to the patients are of the worst possible description, and dearer than the best, because nobody endeavoured to force the contractors to fulfil their obligations. The scales for weighing out of the provisions were not equal, so that scandalous facilities were given to fraud. The daily consumption of sheep amounted to forty, the best of which went to the tables of the hospital clerks, and the worst to the patients. Eight hundred pounds chocolate were consumed every month, not by the patients, because chocolate is not an article of hospital diet, except in rare case, but by the *employés*. The kitchens were filthy in the extreme; the number of cooks and kitchen people so great that they hindered each other from working. The mattresses of the patients were half emptied of their wool, the property of the patients; their clothes were taken away without an inventory being made, the bedding unclean, the wards unwashed. There was neither respect nor consideration for suffering humanity, the hygiene of the wards being left to the will and pleasure of hospital clerks and ward lackeys. The dwelling of the insane were horrible to see. The medical case-books slovenly kept with great intervals between the lines; so that agreeable or alimentitious articles were interpolated in great quantities, but never used by the unhappy patients. The bodies were carried naked to the dead-house in the same cart, without distinction of age or sex, many hours before the term marked down by the law, or dictated by prudence. The hair and teeth of the dead were converted into objects of commerce. The dispensary full of bad drugs, and, notwithstanding the heap of *employés*, dirty in the extreme. The young students employed as dressers were not under any kind of discipline; were never more than an hour at the utmost in the discharge of their duties; and when required by his Excellency the Governor to perform them, imposed impertinent conditions, and when these were not acceded to resigned their offices, and left the patients without assistance; for which act the Governor put them all into prison, and then deprived them of the permission to enter any public establishment. The clergy belonging to the hospital were by far too numerous, and yet their duties were inadequately fulfilled. The Governor of Madrid has turned out all the inferior servants; he has put the economical part of the establishment into the hands of the Sisterhood of Charity, which contains many women of great merit and abnegation, and he has effected great savings of every kind.

JUDGE ALFRED CONKLING, of New York, has been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Mexican Republic, in the place of Robert P. Letcher, recalled at his own request.

——ANOTHER TICKET IN THE FIELD.—The Southern Rights party of Barbour County, Alabama, have nominated Gen. John A. Quitman, President, and Hon. T. L. Clingman, for Vice President, subject to the decision of the great Southern Rights Convention at Montgomery.

——THE *Southern Press*, published at Washington, the propagandist of the ultra slaveocrats of the South Carolina School, has ceased to exist, for want of support. The New York *Times* says of it:

"The *Southern Press* is dead. The last number, issued yesterday, is the vehicle of its own eulogium. Mr. Elwood Fisher is the orator of the occasion; and, to do him justice, seldom has a more lugubriously mirthful, a more laughably mournful burst of eloquence excited our sympathies. Mr. Fisher complains of all men, Mr. Calhoun, who is dead, excepted. The North is full of property-hating Abolitionists; the South abounds with *faineants*, the days of whose chivalry is gone. Southern men promised him help to sustain the enterprise, and proved defaulters at the pinch. Southern men subscribed to the paper, and refused to pay the amount of their subscriptions. Southern men have deserted the cause of which Mr. Fisher was the organ, leaving him very much in the position of a music-mad fifer, whose soldiery has turned off and left him at the last corner. Mr. Fisher brandishes his cane after and abuses the runaways, like an ancient fish-wife. He taunts them with their want of principle, honour, courage, sense, and several other virtues commonly thought indispensable to gentlemen; and, finally, bids them walk up and pay for the good he desired to do them, but did not.

——HON. R. C. WINTHROP has written a letter to the Whig State Committee of Massachusetts declining to be a candidate for nomination as Governor at the convention to be held in September.

——THE Cholera has been very destructive at Rochester, the past week, but is now abating.

——REV. E. G. WOOD, in the opening prayer of services at Fairfield, Indiana, after praying for the General Government, prayed for the Governor of the State, and thus for the Legislature: "And the Lord have mercy on our legislators. Spare their lives until they may return to their homes, and then put it into the hearts of the people to keep them there, and return men of temperate habits and sentiments who will do some good."

——HEALTH OF THE CITY.—The City Inspectors' Report, for the week ending Saturday last, gives the total number of deaths during that period at 549—an increase of only ten over the preceding week. Of the number, those who died of appoplexy were 15; cholera, 6; cholera infantum, 97; cholera morbus, 18; consumption, 46; convulsions, 49; croup, 11; diarrhea, 23; dropsy in the head, 20; drowned, 14; dysentery, 43; typhus fever, 15; inflammation of brain, 10; inflammation of bowels, 12; inflammation of lungs, 9; marasmus, 28; measles, 14; te

Miscellaneous Department.

MODERN TIMES.

A NOTICE runs the round of the papers of a new city, lately established in Long Island, with this name. There is a journal published there, which is to keep us up with the times. The theory of the place is, that every man is to have "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work;" that nobody shall pay profit upon anything which he buys; and that one sort of labour shall be paid as much or as little by the hour as another. All this plan is based upon no system of association or socialism, but rather upon a wish to give force to the most complete "individualism" of those who go there. Any man who wants to live there, may at any time buy any lot he wants, at the wholesale price at which the present proprietors bought it by the acre. And with such plans, and any legitimate hopes based upon it, Modern Times starts on its career. Good luck go with it, and may it live to be Old Times!

The name sounds odd; too much like a common noun and a common adjective to become a proper name. But so once did New-Town sound, or New-York even, or Old Castle, or Cam Bridge, or Ox Ford, all of which have now quite a homogeneous tang and sound, as we speak them to each other.

We are glad to introduce Modern Times to "To-Day's" readers, because its founder, a Boston Boy, deserves some mention in a Boston journal. If we rightly recollect, Hon. Josiah Warren, now interested in this extreme movement of individualism, left Boston many years since for the West, with a good deal of faith in the sanguine views which Robert Owen held about the prospects of his seductive Family Unions. Mr. Warren was one of those who roughed it in the sinking, failing, and at last ruined fortunes of New Harmony, the Owen's establishment in Indiana. Of this place nothing more need be said than what Robert Owen himself said of it, that it worked as well as a steam-engine would work, of which the cylinder had been set up, and the builders failed to command the funds to put in any piston. At all events, "they say" that New Harmony cured Mr. Warren of his fondness for socialism, and that he set to work for other ways to reëstablish social order.

In such study he embarked as ardently his hope for making each individual independent of society. And it was in this view that he hit on an invention which is yet in its infancy, but which promises to work remarkable results in literature, and so in society; far more remarkable, in our judgment, than even any "modern times" of them will do. He saw that the press was the great lever now-a-days by which individual power is communicated to the world. He set to work, therefore, to see how every man could become his own printer. And he succeeded, many years ago, in elaborating the invention, which is just now commanding wider attention, of a process by which, with two or three pounds only of type, in his own parlour, he has printed and stereotyped books, pamphlets, whatever he had to say to the world, and stored the plates away, with almost as little expense to himself as the cost of the sheets of paper would have been, had he chosen to copy thus his productions.

Simply, Mr. Warren's invention is this. He has discovered that the silicious earth of the mother soil round him, as dug from the ground, may be mixed with shellac and other ingredients, in proportions which he has fixed, so as to become a type-material, as solid as that made of mental, of sharper edge, and more enduring. This earth exists in untold quantities in Indiana. For a dollar or two a barrel, it can be delivered in Boston. Mixed with the other ingredients, and cast into sheets ready for use by the stereotyper, it does not cost a tithe of what type-metal costs. And this result seems to follow, as it wears better than metal plates, that as its introduction becomes general, we are to have our stereotyped books even cheaper than we have them now.

We have no faith in systems of social order, which makes every man a jack-of-all-trades. And although Mr. Warren's processes of using his new type-material are so simple, that any one person can make a stereotype plate from a page of type set, we have no idea that all our studies are to become printing-rooms. Practical men will work the new invention as they do the old, making it their only business. And thus, owning the danger there always is that new discoveries may meet some unexpected check, we are tempted to speak confidently of the prospects of this. The rights for its use in several cities are already disposed of. The Smithsonian Institution has retained a privilege in it for its Great Catalogue of American Libraries, for which work it has some peculiar fitness. Indeed, a good deal of printing has already been wrought with it at Washington.

The following notice of the new city and its plan has been given by the New York *Sunday Times*.

"Mr. George Stearns, the editor of a paper called the *Art of Living*, published hitherto among the spindles and spinsters of Lowell, announces his intention, in his last number, of removing his establishment to the city of Modern Times, on Long Island. Our hand reached involuntarily for the gazeeter, but no village, town, or city of that name could we find. The Blue Book showed no such post-office. We applied to a friend who had sold a dozen or two of cities around New York, but this one was not on his list; and, stranger still, he had no recollection of any lots being in the market, purporting to be in such locality. This was discouraging; but when we start such game, we are not easily baulked in the pursuit. Continuing our inquiries for a few days, we lighted on a man who knew something of the new city, hereafter to be enlightened by our contemporary, the *Art of Living*; and as all knowledge is useful, we stand ready to disseminate this intelligence for the instruction of the public and the benefit of posterity.

"The city of Modern Times is on the Long Island Railroad, near Thompson's Station, some forty miles from New York. It consists of a large tract of level, arable land, and at present of not more than half a dozen houses, brick, frame and log, of various sizes. The city plot, a pretty extensive one, is surveyed in lots of one acre each; and the price is inflexibly twenty dollars—no more and no less. There is no speculation; for it is a 'fixed price' city. Buy now, or five years hence, and your acre will cost you twenty dollars. This is exactly what the land cost; and the only addition will be the cost of survey and title.

"If you go to live in Modern Times, everything you wish to buy, house, furniture, clothing, food, everything, will be sold you at cost. The principle upon which the city is begun is, that every man charges a fair price for his labour, but never one cent profit. Buy shoes, and you pay for so much stock and so many hours' labour, in money, or an equivalent of equal labour of your own. Every man adjures all desire or design to gouge or overreach his neighbour. In a word, or in the axiom of this school of reformers, 'Cost is the limit of price;' and a thing is not worth what it may be valued at, or what some fool may be willing to give for it, but what it cost; that is, every man is satisfied with a fair day's work, and no more. If one kind of work is harder than another, he is justified at Modern Times in asking a little more. If it is worth ten cents an hour to hoe corn, it won't be worth more than six cents an hour to tend store; and a preacher, if fond of his vocation, will work a little cheaper; while ditchers, washerwomen, &c., will be justified in claiming a slight increase, so that the most repugnant labour will be the best paid. Of course the good citizens of Modern Times don't believe in giving $5000 salaries to preachers and bank presidents, nor $1000 fees to lawyers or doctors. Every man puts his work fairly and squarely against every other man's, and there is no shirking and no cheating.

"There is no Fourierism in this new city; for they don't believe in combined interest. Every man goes to work very distinctly on his own hook, with the particular understanding that he is not only to mind his own business, but strenuously to let other people's alone. The Modern Times believe in the sovereignity of the individual. Every man looks out sharp for No. 1; but in doing that, he is not allowed to encroach on No. 2. They are as far from Owenism or Communism; and, if they have any *ism*, it is *individualism*. There is no arrangement for drones; and as every one takes care of himself, and there is no possible chance for speculation, profit, pickings or plunder, drones will be scarce. They adopt Paul's maxim—or was it Peters? 'If a man will not work, neither shall he eat.' To be sure, there is no compulsion, the sovereignty of the individual being thoroughly respected. A man may be as idle as he pleases, but he must be so at his own cost. There is no public for him to live on, in any possible way, or under any pretext whatever. If he is an object of benevolence, he must appeal to benevolence, and every man will give what he pleases; but no man can feed at the public crib, or take the product of another's labour without rendering an equivalent.

"The originator of this movement is the Hon. Josiah Warren, of Indiana, a gentleman of very remarkable character. His views have been ably set forth by S. P. Andrews, Esq., of this city, in two works, respectively entitled 'Individuality,' and 'Cost the Limit of Price.'

"This is the substance of what we have discovered in relation to the city of Modern Times; if we find our further investigations interesting, our readers may rely upon accurate information. Meantime, we wish our contemporary all sorts of success, and hope he may be able to reduce the Art of Living to successful practice."

SPIRITUAL RAPPINGS.

SOME years ago, we were much struck by accounts in the Memoirs of Wesley, very much resembling some of the so-called Spiritual Manifestations of our own day. We publish the accounts from Wesley, as we find them in the *Spiritual Telegraph*, a paper devoted to the new *manifestations*. Whether the accounts are correct or mistaken, they present a remarkable psychological case for inquiry. We have no solution to offer. —*Christian Register*.

REV. JOHN WESLEY ON THE MANIFESTATIONS.

A respectable clergyman of the Methodist church, pastor of a society in this city, has furnished us with the following extracts—which will be read with interest by many who may not have access to the works of Mr. Wesley.—Ed.

From the "Account of disturbances in" his "Father's House" taken down by Rev. John Wesley in 1720, and found in "Wesley's works" published at the "Methodist Book Room, 200 Mulberry street; New York, 1840." Vol vii, pages 474 to 478. I make the following extracts. After mentioning several remarkable Manifestations of the Spirit or Spirits to the servants, which alarmed them very much, he says:

"The next evening between 5 and 6 o'clock, my sister Molly, then about twenty years of age, sitting in the dining-room, reading, heard as it were the door that led into the hall, open, and a person walking in that seemed to have on a silk night-gown, rustling and trailing along. It seemed to walk round her, then to the door, then round again; but she could see nothing. She thought it signifies nothing to run away; for whatever it is, it can run faster than me, so she rose, put her book under her arm and walked slowly away. After supper she was sitting with my sister Suky (about a year older than her), in one of the chambers, and telling her what had happened. She quite made light of it; telling her I wonder you are so easily frightened; I would fain see what would frighten me. Presently a knocking began under the table. She took the candle and looked but could find nothing. Then the iron casement began to clatter, and the lid of the warming-pan, next the latch of the door moved up and down without ceasing. She started up, leaped into the bed without undressing, pulled the bed clothes over her head and never ventured to look up till next morning. A night or two after, my sister Hetty, a younger than my sister Molly, was waiting as usual between nine and ten to take away my father's candle, when she heard some one coming down the garret stairs, walking slowly by her; then going down the broad stairs, then up the back stairs, and up the garret stairs; and at every step it seemed the house shook from top to bottom. Just then my father knocked. She went in, took his candle, and got to bed as fast as possible. In the morning she told this to my eldest sister, who told her "you know I believe none of these things. Pray let me take away the candle to-night, and *I will* find out the trick.' She accordingly took my sister Hetty's place, and had no sooner taken away the candle than she heard a noise below. She hastened down stairs to the hall where the noise was; but it was then in the kitchen. She ran into the kitchen where it was drumming inside of the screen, when she went round, it was drumming on the outside, and so always on the side opposite to her. Then she heard a knocking at the back kitchen door. She ran to it, unlocked it *softly*, and when the knocking was repeated, suddenly opened it; but nothing was seen. As soon as she had shut it, the knocking began again. She opened it again but could see nothing. When she went to shut the door it was violently thrust against her. She let it fly open, but nothing appeared. She went again to shut it, and it was again thrust against her; but she set her knee and shoulder to the door, forced it to and turned the key. Then the knocking began again; but she let it go on, and went up to bed. However, from that time, she was thoroughly convinced that there was no imposture in the affair. The next morning my sister telling my mother what had happened, she said; 'if I hear anything myself, I shall know how to judge.—soon after, she begged her to come into the nursery. She did; and heard in the corner of the room, as it were, the violent rocking of a cradle; but no cradle had been there for some years. She was convinced it was *preternatural*, and earnestly prayed it might not disturb her in her own chamber at the hours of retirement, and it never did. She now thought it proper to tell my father, but he was extremely angry, and said, 'Sukey I am ashamed of you; these boys and girls frighten one another; but you are a woman of sense, and should know better. Let me hear of it no more.' At six in the evening he had family prayers, as usual. When he began the prayer for the king, a knocking began all around the room; and a thundering knock attended the amen. The same was heard from this time, every morning and evening, while prayer for the king was repeated. . . .

Mr. Wesley was also informed by Mr. Hoole the vicar of Haxey (an eminently pious and sensible man), that his 'father sent for him and gave him an account of what had happened, particularly the knocking during family prayer. But the evening' (he spent with him) he says, 'to my great satisfaction we had no knocking at all' (during the time of prayer); but between nine and ten, a servant came in, and said, 'Old Jeffrey is coming' (that was the name of one that died in the house); 'for I hear the signal.' This they informed me was heard every night about a quarter before ten. It was toward the top of the house, on the outside, at the north-east corner, resembling the loud creaking of a saw; or, rather, that of a windmill, when the body of it was turned about, in order to shift the sails to the wind. We then heard a knocking over our heads; and Mr. Wesley catching up a candle, said, 'come, sir, now you shall hear for yourself.' We went up stairs; he with much hope, and I (to say the truth), with much fear. When we came into the nursery, it was knocking in the next room; when we were there, it was knocking in the nursery. And then it continued to knock, though we came in; particularly at the head of the bed (which was of wood), in which Miss Hetty and two of her younger sisters lay. Mr. Wesley observing that they were much affected, though asleep, *sweating* and *trembling* exceedingly, was very angry, and pulling out a pistol was going to fire at the place from whence the sound came. But I catched him by the arm and said: 'Sir you are convinced this is something *preternatural*. If so, you cannot *hurt it*; but you give it power to *hurt you*.' He then went close to the place and said sternly, 'Thou deaf and dumb devil, why dost thou fright these children that cannot answer for themselves? Come to me in my study, that am a man. Instantly it knocked *his* knock (the particular knock which he always used at the gate), as if it would shiver the board in pieces; and we heard nothing more that night.' Till this time my father had never heard the least disturbance in his study. But the next evening as he attempted to go into his study (of which none had *any key* but himself), when he opened the door it was thrust back with such violence as had liked to have thrown him down. However, he thrust the door open and went in. Presently there was knocking, first on one side and then on the other; and, after a time in the next room, wherein my sister Nancy then was. He then went into that room and (the noise continuing), adjured it to speak; but in vain. He then said, 'these spirits love darkness; put out the candle and perhaps it will speak.' She did so; and he repeated his adjuration; but still there was only knocking; and no articulate sound. Upon this, he said, 'Nancy, two christians are an overmatch for the devil. Go all of you down stairs; it may be when I am alone, he will have courage to speak.' When she was gone a thought came in, and he said: 'If thou art the spirit of my son Samuel, I pray, knock three knocks and no more'—immediately all was silence, and there was no more knocking at all that night.

"I asked my sister Nancy (then about fifteen years of age), whether she was not afraid when my father used that adjuration. She answered she was sadly afraid it would speak, when she put out the candle; but she was not at all afraid in the day time when it walked after her as she swept the chambers, as it constantly did and seemed to sweep after her, only she thought he might have done it for her and saved her the trouble.

"By this time all my sisters were so accustomed to these noises that they gave them little disturbance. A gentle tapping at their bedhead usually began between nine and ten at night; they then commonly said to each other, 'Jeffrey is coming; and it is time to go to sleep.' And if they heard the noise in the day, and said to my youngest sister, 'hark, Kizzy, Jeffrey is knocking above,' she would run up stairs and pursue it from room to room, saying she desired no better diversion.

"A few nights after, my father and mother had just gone to bed and the candle was not taken away, when they heard three blows, and a second and a third three, as it were with a large oaken staff, struck upon the chest which stood by the bedside. My father immediately arose, put on his night-gown, and hearing great noises below took the candle and went down, my mother walked by his side. As they went down the broad stairs, they heard as if a vessel full of silver was poured upon my mother's breast and ran jingling down to her feet; quickly after there was a sound, as if a large iron ball was thrown among many bottles under the stairs, but nothing was hurt. Soon after our large mastiff dog came and run to shelter himself between them. While the disturbances continued he used to bark and leap and snap one side and the other, and that frequently before any person in the room heard any noise at all. But after two or three days, he used to tumble and creep away before the noise began, and by this the family knew it was at hand; nor did the observation ever fail.

"A little before my father and mother came into the hall, it seemed as it a very large coal was violently thrown upon the floor and dashed all in pieces, but nothing was seen. My father then cried out, 'Suky, do you not hear? all the pewter is thrown about the kitchen; but when they looked, all the pewter stood in its place. Then there was a loud knocking at the back door, my father opened it, but saw nothing—it was then at the foredoor, he opened that; but it was still lost labour. After opening first the one, then the other, several times, he turned and went up to bed. But the noises were so violent all over the house, that he could not sleep till four in the morning. Several gentlemen and clergymen now earnestly advised my father to quit the house; but he constantly answered, 'No! let the devil flee from me; I will not flee from the devil;' but he wrote to my eldest brother at London to come down; he was preparing so to do, when another letter came informing him the disturbances were over after they had continued (the latter part of the day time and night), from the second day of December to the end of January."

The following remarkable extracts are from the same works, vol. iv, pages 280 to 286.

"Being at Sunderland, I took down from one who had learned God from her infancy, one of the strongest accounts I ever read, and yet I can find no pretense to disbelieve it. The well-known character of the person excludes all suspicion of fraud; and the nature of the circumstances themselves excludes the possibility of delusion. It is true there are several of them which I do not comprehend; but this is with me a very slender objection; for what is it which I do comprehend even of the things I see daily? Truly not 'the smallest grain of sand or spear of grass.' I know not how the one grows, or how the particles of the other cohere together. What pretense, have I then, to deny well-attested facts because I cannot comprehend them? It is true, likewise, that the English in general, and indeed most of the men of learning in Europe, have given up all accounts of *witches and apparitions* as mere old wives fables; I am sorry for it, and I willingly take this opportunity of entering my solemn *protest* against this violent compliment which so many that believe the *Bible* pay to those who do not believe it. I owe them no such service. I take knowledge these are at the bottom of the outcry which has been raised and with such insolence spread throughout the nation, in direct opposition not only to the Bible, but to the suffrage of the wisest and best men in all ages and nations. *They well know* (whether christians know it or not), that the giving up *witchcraft* is in effect giving up the Bible; and they know, on the other hand, that if but *one account* of the intercourse of men *with separate spirits* be admitted, their whole castle in the air (Deism, Atheism, Materialism), falls to the ground. I know no reason, therefore, why we should suffer even this weapon to be wrested out of our hands. Indeed there are numerous arguments, beside, which abundantly confute their vain imaginations. But we need not be *hooted* out of one; neither Reason nor Religion require this. One of the capital objections to all these accounts which I have known urged over and over is this, 'Did you ever see an apparition yourself?' No—nor did I ever see a *murder*; yet I believe there is such a thing; yea, and that in one place or another murder is committed every day. Therefore, I cannot as a reasonable man deny the fact, although I never saw it, and perhaps never may. The testimony of unexceptionable witnesses fully convinces me both of the one and the other. But to set this aside, it has been confidently alledged that many of these have seen their error, and have been clearly convinced that the supposed preternatural operation was the mere contrivance of artful men. The famous instance of this, which has been spread far and wide, was the drumming in Mr. Mompissons house at Tedeworth; who, it was said, acknowledged it *was all a trick*, and that he had found out the whole contrivance. Not so; my eldest brother, then at Christ Church, Oxon, inquired of Mr. Mompisson his fellow collegian, whether his father had acknowledged this or not. He answered, 'the resort of gentlemen to my father's house was so great he could not bear the expense; he therefore, took no pains to confute the report that he had found out the cheat, although he and I and all the family, knew the account which was published to be punctually true. This premised, I proceed to as remarkable a narrative as any that has fallen under my notice. The reader may believe it if he pleases or may disbelieve it, without any offence to me. Meantime let him not be offended if I believe it, till I see better reason to the contrary.' . . . 'Elizabeth Hobson was born in Sunderland, in the year 1744. Her father dying when she was three or four years old, her uncle, Thomas Rea, a pious man, brought her up as his own daughter.' . . . May 25, 1768, and the three following days I talked with her at large, but it was with great difficulty I prevailed on her to speak. The *substance* of what she said was as follows: 'From my childhood, when any of our neighbours died, whether men, women or children, I used to see them either just when they died or a little before, and I was not frightened at all, it was so common. Indeed, many times I did not then know they were dead; I saw many of them by day, many by night. Those that came when it was dark brought light with them. I observed all little children and many grown persons had a bright, glorious light around them; but many had a gloomy dismal light, and a dusky cloud over them. When I told my uncle this he did not seem at all surprised at it (Mr. Wesley adds, 'it appears highly probable that he was himself experimentally acquainted these things')—but several times he said, 'Be not afraid, only take care to fear and serve God.' . . . , At other times he said (dropping a word now and then, but seldom answering many questions about it), '*Evil spirits* very seldom appear but between eleven at night and two in the morning; but after they have appeared to a person a year, they frequently come in the day time; whatever spirits, good or bad, come in the day, they come at sunrise, at noon or at sunset. (Mr. Wesley says, 'how strange is this! But how little do we know concerning the laws of the invisible world'). Again she said when I was about sixteen, my uncle fell ill, and grew worse and worse for three months. One day, having been sent out on an errand, I was coming home through a lane when I saw him in the field, coming swiftly towards me. I ran to meet him, but he was gone; when I came home I found him calling for me. As soon as I came to his bedside, he clasped his arms around my neck, and bursting into tears, earnestly exhorted me to continue in the ways of God; he kept his hold till he sank down and died, and even then they could hardly unclasp his fingers.' . . . 'From that time I was crying from morning to night, and praying that I might see him; I grew weaker and weaker, till one morning about one o'clock as I was laying, crying as usual, I heard some noise, and rising up, saw him come to the bedside, he looked much displeased, shook his head at me and in a minute or two went away. About a week after I took my bed and grew worse and worse, till in six or seven days my life was despaired of; then about eleven at night my uncle came in, looked well pleased, and sat down on the bedside. He came every night after, at the same time and stayed till cock-crowing; I was exceedingly glad, and kept my eyes fixed upon him all the time he stayed. If I wanted *drink or anything*, though I did not speak or stir, he fetched it and set it on the chair by the bedside.' (Mr. Wesley says, 'so it is plain he knew her thoughts'). 'Indeed,' she says: 'I could not speak many times, I strove, but could not move my tongue. Every morning when he went away, he waved his hand to me and I heard delightful music as if many persons were singing together. In about six weeks I grew better; I was then musing one night whether I did well in desiring he might come, and I was praying that God would do his own will, when he came in and stood by the bedside, but he was not in his usual dress; he had on a white robe which reached down to his feet; he looked quite pleased; about one, there stood by him a person in white, taller than him, and exceedingly beautiful—he came with the singing as of many voices and continued till near cock-crowing; then my uncle smiled and waved his hand towards me twice or thrice, then went away with inexpressibly sweet music, and I saw him no more.' Again, she says; 'A little before Michaelmas 1763, my brother George, who was a good young man, went to sea. The day after Michaelmas day, about midnight, I saw him standing by my bedside surrounded with a glorious light and looking earnestly at me; he was wet all over. That night the ship in which he sailed split upon a rock and all the crew were drowned.' Again, 'on April nine, 1767, about midnight I was lying awake, and I saw my brother John by my bedside; just at that time he died in Jamaica.' (Mr. Wesley says upon this, 'so a spirit finds no difficulty in travelling three or four thousand miles in a moment').

"I will also add another remarkable extract from Vol. vii., page 571, from the 'preface of a true relation of the *chief things* which an *evil spirit* did and said at Mason, in Burgundy.' 'With my latest breath will I bear my testimony against giving up to infidels one proof of the invisible world; I mean that of *witchcraft* and *apparitions* confirmed by the testimony of all ages. I do not think any unprejudiced man can doubt the truth of the following narrative—the truth of it was in the last century acknowledged by all Europe, against which the unaccountableness of it is no objection to those who are convinced of the littleness of their own knowledge.'

Many more extracts equally remarkable might be added, but they all tend to the same point and seem to bear the same testimony to his firm belief in "Spiritual Manifestations."

The Olive Tree.

BY HENRIETTA SARGENT.

O SACRED Type! thou stood'st the shock
When all the forest's pride
Floated uptorn, and many a rock
The deluge could not hide.

Thy branches bent but did not break,
When waves were o'er thee borne;
The raging storm thy leaves might shake,
Not one was lost or torn.

When the great fountains of the deep
Were stopped, and from the ground
The whelming waters were assuaged—
The Ark a resting found;

Then from the surge thy beauteous head
Rose "straightway" fresh and fair,
And forth the Dove, divinely led,
Found a sweet solace there.

So, when from Jordan's sacred stream
Came up the Holy One,
From high the Spirit lit on Him,
While God proclaimed His Son!

One healing leaf plucked off from thee,
That back the swift Dove bore,
Dispelled the doubts, confirmed the faith,
The Patriarch owned before.

"How blest the Messengers of good!
How beauteous are their feet"!
No other tenant of the wood
Was for this errand meet.

And none beside poured out their blood
(Of all the winged race,)
Before the altar of the Lord,
That Man might there find grace!

That Holy Unction they possess'd
The power to sanctify,
Was formed of Oil derived from Thee,
And spice from Araby!

No Priest could offer sacrifice,
No King could wear his crown,
Till from his head this compound rare,
O'er all his robes "ran down."

Oh! type divine! when rain and dew
To Israel were denied,
The Widow's cruse, thy glad'ning Oil,
By Heaven's decree, supplied.

The holiest offices were thine;
Like Cherubims of God
Within the Oracle divine
To minister his word.

For entrance to the holiest
Thou wert the mystic door,
Carved with palm trees, and open flowers,
And Cherubims all o'er.

The Prophet saw with glad surprise
In vision true revealed,
The second Temple glorious rise,
With Grace till then concealed;

There seven bright Lamps by Thee supplied
With Light, excelling shone,
Above what Nature's truths reveal,
Derived from Heaven alone:

Appointed to a ransomed world
Salvation to declare,
Well might thy Two anointed ones
Thy chosen semblance bear!

Where'er it lists the wind will blow,"
Like God's renewing grace—
Denied the haughty sons of earth—
Shines in the meek ones' face!

Then let the Priest and Levite pass—
They had no power to give
That unction from the Holy One
That bids the dying live.

Despised and scorned of men, he came
Who brought a copious store,
Of mystic Wine and sacred Oil
In the pierced heart to pour.

Thus healed, the Soul no fear can know,
Though savage beasts assail,
Though called to face a giant foe—
Or pass through death's dark vale.

Touched by thy power the child of sin,
Sought her loved Lord with care,
Washed with her tears his "beauteous feet,"
And wiped them with her hair.

And kissed them oft, and when she shed
Her box of ointment pure
Upon her Lord's devoted head,
He spoke her pardon sure.

The sacred record of her love,
"Her work aforehand done,"
That for his burying prepared
The holy, harmless one;

Where'er the Gospel is proclaimed
This record shall be read,
And many a sinner weep and pray,
By her example led.

Touched by that power, the warrior's sword,
The ploughshare's form shall take,
Mercy and Truth combined appear,
Each cruel yoke to break.

Beauty for ashes then be given—
For grief, the Oil of joy—
Chains from the toil-worn Slave be riven,
And Sin no more alloy.

'Twas Jesse's Godlike Son compared
The Righteous man to Thee,
Renowned type of Light and Life!
Thou fair "Green Olive Tree!"

Boston, September, 1851. —*Liberty Bell, for* 1852.

CHRISTIANITY A CRIME!

BY SAMUEL MAY, JR.

STRANGE as it may appear, and reluctant as any may be to admit it, the words above are neither a fiction nor an exaggeration. They express an existing fact, coëqual in its extent and operation with the boundaries of the United States of America.

There is not a land on the face of the earth where more show of religion is made than in this; none where louder professions are made of reverence for the son of God, the Saviour of the world. Yet obedience to the great and fundamental law of his religion is here forbidden by the law of the land, and punished as a crime. Temples, protessedly erected to the honour of God, exist almost without number in the land, while our laws require that the plainest precepts and clearest principles which God has ordained for the control and well-being of mankind, must be violated and treated with scoffing and contempt. Or, if any one venture to disregard the human and obey the divine mandate, forthwith he subjects himself to the punishment of a felon. Such is the decree of the Sovereign Power of this Union, speaking through the laws thereof.

We have a Constitution, one of whose objects, in the words of those who made it, and of those who have, for upwards of sixty years, expounded it, is, "to secure to the citizens of the Slaveholding States, *the complete right and title of ownership, in their Slaves* AS PROPERTY, *in every State of the Union*"*—a Constitution which contains a distinct "*bargain between Freedom and Slavery.*"† We have laws enacted in conformity with this BARGAIN, although with various unconstitutional provisions superadded, which command, as the duty of the American citizen, the violation of the most explicit commands of God and of Christianity, and the performance of acts which are alike forbidden by God, by every principle of justice, and by every sentiment of humanity.

An outcast, wretched man—escaping from those who have cruelly entreated him all his days, who have defrauded and plundered him, beaten and bruised his wife and children before his eyes continually, and then sold that wife and those children, out of his sight forever, to other demons in human shape—flies to us and implores protection from those who are about to seize and carry him back to renewed sufferings. "Thou shalt NOT deliver him back," says the voice of God, speaking in His word, and in the heart of man. "He SHALL be delivered up," say the Constitution and laws of the land. "We ought to obey God rather than man," is our reflection and our reply. Do so at your peril, cry the "ministers of the lower law," as they style themselves; imprisonment and fines shall be visited upon you.

"Feed the hungry; clothe the naked; hide not thyself from thine own flesh; bring him who is cast out to thy house; and relieve the oppressed." These are the positive and clear commands of God.

Whoso does this, says the law of this Union—whoso shall harbour a fellow-man, accused of no crime, fleeing from Slavery, and seeking only freedom without molestation or oppression, he shall be fined one thousand dollars, and shall be imprisoned six months for each and every instance in which he thus *transgresses*; and he shall furthermore pay to the self-styled owners, the assessed *money-value* of every fellow-man whom, in obedience to the Gospel of Christ, he has fed, or clothed, or sheltered, or visited.

Our principal cities and towns, and even our more retired rural abodes, are now harrassed and disgraced by the efforts of ambitious and heartless men to enforce these penalties. And, as might be expected when *distinguished* men thus array themselves against God, and set examples of wickedness in high places, meaner men, in editorial chairs, in lawyers' offices, in pulpits, and in the marts of trade, emulate the base deed, pour out their low contempt upon every appeal for justice and for mercy, and breathe out threatenings and slaughter against the servants of the Lord.

In the United States Senate, not long since, a Senator of the State of New York * spoke of a law higher than that of Congress—higher than any which man can enact. The bare suggestion of such a law—a law of superior authority and weightier obligation than a Congress of Slaveholders can frame—was received with derision and mockery by the Senators generally, and but one or two were found to do it the reverence even of a verbal acknowledgment. Thenceforward, the very phrase, "a Higher Law," was bandied to and fro from press and pulpit throughout the country, with jeers or frowns, as a monstrous heresy or a frivolous superstition.

Soon after, one of the leading Democrats of the Union, an ex-Vice-President, George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, seized the opportunity of a public dinner in the city of New York, to throw his contempt on the Higher Law. He sent a toast complimentary to Senator Dickinson of New York (one of those Northern hounds of the Slave power, who have been the same and well-nigh the destruction of our country), and these were the words thereof, as published in the papers of the day: "*The patriot Senator of New York*—He who cherishes no higher aim than his country's good, and adopts no higher law than his country's Constitution."

Not to be behind any Democratic rival, in regard to any test of a man's fitness for the Presidential chair, Daniel Webster soon comes forward to try *his* hand at the work of insulting and *ignoring* (as the modern phrase is) that Power whose Being and Laws he had often, with hypocritic speech, invoked and professed to reverence. The place which he chose for his impious deed was one of the resorts of gayety and fashion, a watering-place in Slaveholding Virginia. Thus he spoke:

"Gentlemen, this North Mountain is high, the Blue Ridge higher still, the Alleghany higher than either, and yet this higher law ranges further than an eagle's flight above the highest peaks of the Alleghany (laughter). No common vision can discern it; no conscience not transcendental and ecstatic can feel it; the hearing of common men never discerns its high behests, and, therefore, one should think it not a safe law to be acted on in matters of the highest practical moment. It is the code, however, of the fanatical and factious Abolitionists of the North."

But even these instances are not the most painful nor the most remarkable. We are prepared to see depraved and vicious developments of character in old, hackneyed politicians, whose whole moral natures have been inflicted with the corrupt and poisonous atmosphere of partizan struggle, manœuvre, plot, and counterplot. We have been forced to look upon a more humiliating sight than even this. We have seen within the year, one of the largest religious bodies of the land, all the while pretending great zeal for God and Christ, and great concern for immortal souls, join in the mock which is made of God and his commandments. Surely, here is the revival of the old scene, when a professed friend and disciple drew near to Jesus and said, Hail, Master, and kissed him, at the same moment beckening his murderers to draw near and take him. The case to which we refer is thus told in journals wholly friendly to the body whose proceedings are reported: †

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (New School) met in Utica, New York, in May last. In the course of a discussion upon Slavery, "Rev. Mr. Grosvenor said, I wish to offer an amendment to what has been offered: Resolved, that the Fugitive Slave law, in its present provisions and requirements, is entirely opposed to the impulses of humanity, to the principles of justice, and to the precepts of the Bible. This was received with considerable laughter by the Assembly."

Laughter! Was there no other way in which to receive, even though it had been ill-timed and mistaken, a proposition like that? We are led to say, as William Jay, the celebrated preacher of Bath, England, is reported to have said, when speaking of some kindred enormity, "Come up here, old Devil, and see if you can beat that." "Laughter"! Yes—answered by fiends, and echoed from the sounding walls of hell. But in vain they laughed. He, that is HIGHER than the *highest* regarded them. The Almighty shall have *them* in derision, yea, He shall mock when their fear cometh.

To these impious and atheistical sentiments, multitudes of the pulpits of the land have responded. Very few have dared to withstand them, and vindicate the insulted Majesty of Heaven, the eternal principles of Justice, Truth, and Love. Daniel Sharp of Boston, from his pulpit, calls upon his hearers to obey the laws of the land, whether they are just or unjust, RIGHT OR WRONG; that is, whether they agree with God's laws, or directly oppose them. This doctrine has been taken up, and promulgated from the most influential pulpits in the land. Apologies and justifications of Slavery have been poured out like water; and the great commandments, on which all others depend, To love God with all our heart, and mind, and strength; and, To love our Neighbour as ourselves, have been driven to the wall. And thus has the Nation made the commandment of God of no effect by its legislation; and a corrupt priesthood have said, *Amen*.

So it is. To shelter the weary, hunted, and wretched Slave, to bind up his wounds, to break our bread to his afflicted soul—to give him but a cup of cold water in the name of Christ; and to refuse to partake in the devilish work of giving him back to his tormentors; all this, which Christianity enjoins upon us and requires of us, the American Constitution and Laws forbid, while the Government is resorting to every expedient which ingenuity can devise to distort mercy into treason, humanity into crime, stirring up the basest passions of the ignorant, prejudiced, and vile against the friends of Freedom, and arraying the terrors of fine, imprisonment, and even death, against those who will not bow to the behests of Slavery.

This is the terrible condition of things amongst us, which makes our Nation not alone a cruel and an oppressive, but an impious and blasphemous Nation.

"The Union of these States," it has been truly said, "is cemented with blood, and is reared upon the prostrate bodies of three millions of Slaves." It is in such a land that we are now living; a land WHERE IT IS MADE A CRIME TO BE A CHRISTIAN.

Leicester, Mass., November, 1851.

* William H. Seward.

† The Oneida (Utica) Whig, N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*, &c. —*Liberty Bell for* 1852.

CHINESE PORCELAIN-SEALS FOUND IN IRELAND.

OF all the curious remains which have been found in the sister-country, none are enveloped in greater mystery than the porcelain-seals which have lately come to light. The first public notice of them, we believe, was in the year 1840, when Mr. Huband Smith, of Dublin, called the attention of the Irish Academy to the fact, that about a dozen seals, bearing ancient Chinese characters, had been found within the last few years in various parts of Ireland, and in situations which precluded the supposition that they were of modern introduction; opening a wide field for conjecture as to the time when they made their way into this country. The matter was taken up by several zealous antiquaries in Ulster, whose farther researches have increased the number fourfold; and lest these remains should come to be confounded with importations consequent on our recently established intercourse with the Celestial Empire, a complete catalogue has been made of them, the history of each has been investigated and chronicled, and its present resting place registered. Not only have the most eminent Chinese scholars in this country been consulted about them, but impressions of the greater part have been transmitted to China itself for explanation. The result of the whole investigation was laid before the Literary Society of Belfast on the 6th May, 1850, by Edmund Gotti, Esq. and it embraces some curious and interesting particulars.

Each of these seals consists of a perfect cube with the figure of a Chinese monkey sitting upon it by way of handle: and they are all so exactly like each other in size, shape, and general appearance, as to be undistinguishable except by the inscriptions on the under surface. The material is porcelain; and from the great degree of heat to which they must have been subjected, and the vitrification which has in some measure taken place in consequence, they are as indestructible by corrosion or other operation of time as the glass and porcelain ornaments which are found in the mummy cases of Egypt. The inscriptions are in the Chuenta or ancient seal character of China, which, though as old as the days of Confucius—five or six centuries before the Christian era—is often used at the present day on the seals both of public functionaries and private individuals, in the same way that we employ the black letter of our Gothic ancestors for fancy purposes.

These inscriptions seem to be as numerous and varied as those on our own fancy seals and wafers; and they have often as little apparent connection with a written correspondence. Such are "Yih tsaou ting" (a portico of straw), alluding to the sheds erected on the roads for the accomodation of travellers; "Shan Kaou shwuy shang," ("high mountains and long streams"). Sometimes they are sentimental mottoes, and sometimes they appear to be mere proper names, and difficult of explanation. On a comparison of five sets of translation now before us, one of which is by the late lamented Dr. Gutzlaff, we select a few of the mottoes which seem to be the least ambiguous, judging from the unanimity of the translators.

"Ying fung lung yue," ("Singing in the breeze and playing under the moon"), an allusion to people amusing themselves out of doors in a cool moonlight night. "Hoo fung" ("sealed or shut"). Several Eastern nations despatch their letters without any kind of paste or wax; but they write a curse or ill omen to him who shall violate their secrecy. It is said that in ancient times the Chinese secured their missives merely by stamping or writing on the outside the words—"closed," "sealed," or "shut." In our day they generally paste down the flap of the envelope with a few grains of boiled rice, and stamp it with a red ink or thin paste, in the same way that our postmasters do; one half of the impression being on the flap, and the other on the main part of the envelope. Hence Mr. Meadows translates the inscription, "Protecting the inclosure." Another motto is, "Schwuy lo shih chuh," ("when the water falls the stones appear;") perhaps a metaphorical way of expressing that the truth of a case comes to light through the removal of obscuring circumstances; or, as some think, an adage equivalent to the Latin one—"Gutta cavat lapidem," and intended to convey the idea of constancy or perseverance. Two of the seals bear the motto rendered a "